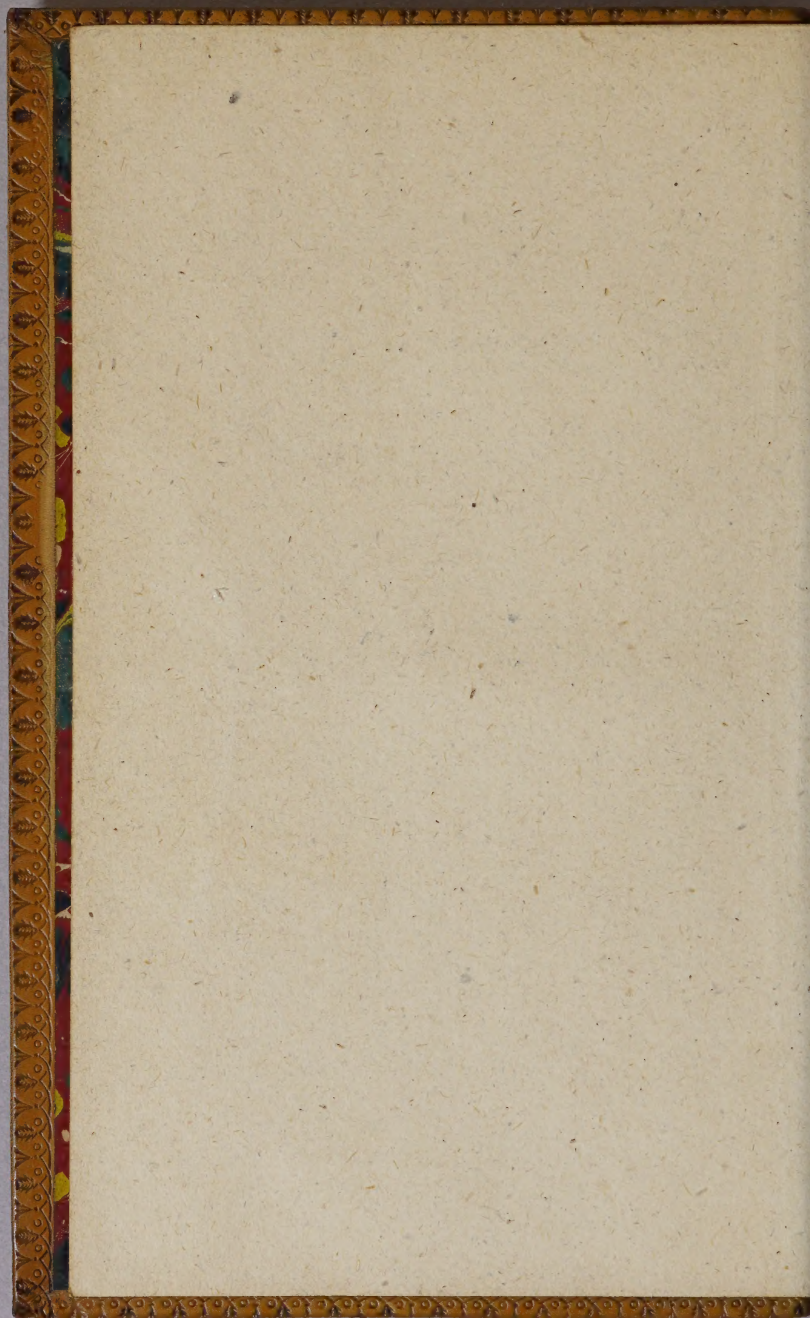






John Carter Brown.





416

703

Prof John Shirley

THE
LIFE

Of the Valiant & Learned

Sir WALTER RALEIGH,
Knight.

WITH HIS

TRYAL

A T

WINCHESTER.

L O N D O N,

Printed by J. D. for Benj. Shirley, and Richard
Tonson, under the Dial of St. Dunstons Church
in Fleetstreet, and under Grays-Inn Gate next
Grays-Inn Lane, 1677.

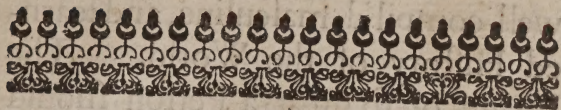
THE
LIFE
OF THE VENERABLE
FATHER
WALTER RAYMOND
KNIGHT
WITH HIS
TRIAL
AT
WIMBORNE

APJCB

LONDON:
Printed by R. D. for Paul, Spence, and Richard
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Graveyard Lane, 1877.

JOHN CARTER BROWN

(5)



THE
LIFE
OF
Sir VValter Raleigh.



Determine to write the
Life, the Rise, Fortunes
and End of Sir *Walter*
Raleigh, Knight; his Me-
moirs being certainly

worthy to be transmitted to Poste-
rity, who hath been so successfully
industrious in retrieving the Actions
of former Ages from the Ruines of

A 3

Time,

The Life of

Time, even in its very Infancy, in a well-compil'd, masculine, and learned History of the World. The Image of so great a Person should not be quite lost, though drawn in little, which deserves to be pourtraid by the greatest Masters of Policy, and with the boldest Touches. Indeed his Shadows cannot now well be left exact, seeing they must be taken so long after his Death; when Time hath defac'd his best Features, and shed *Oblivion* on the most beautiful of his Actions. Who follows

*In his Pre-
face to the
History of
the World*

Truth (as Sir *Walter* has wisely remark'd) too near the heels, may have his teeth struck out: and he that goes after her, oft loseth her sight, and himself too. Distance of time doth sometimes, like some *mediums*, make the streightest Actions seem crooked, and sometimes gives them the advantage of Landscapes, which

Sir Walter Raleigh.

7

which appear taking and agreeable
afar off, tho when nearly search'd,
and pry'd into by a curious and in-
telligent Eye, they seem rude, harsh,
and unpleasant. We must therefore
despair of a just and exact Account
of him, unless we could by some
Magick-Power (as the Author of a
Pamphlet has done, to terrify and
make *Gondamore* speak the Truth)
raise him from the dead, and con-
verse a while with his Ghost. I shall
however with what imperfect Clue
our Histories have bequeath'd, trace
him through the various Labyrinths
of Fortune, and take a Prospect of
him in the several Scenes of Court
and Camp, Peace and War, till I have
followed him to the Scaffold, the
place of his much lamented and un-
happy End ; keeping as near as I can
a *medium* between *Those* who in their
Annals drive on with an implicit
A 4 faith ;

faith; and *Those*, who to get the reputation of Observers and Men of Reach, steal into the private Recesses of Princes, and disrobe Majesty it self to find some Deformities; which love to their Prince, and Interest of State should cover; The best Vail for all deform'd Actions.

*In his
Britan-
nia.*

I find him born at a place, call'd *Budely*, or *Budleigh*, in the County of *Devon*, in an House which his Family had long possess'd, call'd *Hays*: A County (as *Mr. Cambden* has observ'd) renown'd among forreign Nations for the Valour of its Inhabitants in Sea-Services of all sorts. That *Spain* thought so, *Sir Francis Drake*, with many others of that County, as well as our *Sir Walter*, are very convincing Arguments.

That he was well descended, was never yet questioned, but by my Lord of *Oxon*, who indeed was won

to

to call him the Jack, and Upstart. .
But these were words which only
Envy and Emulation could extort,
and every one very easily confute.

Indeed that he was a Gentleman,
because a Favourite, was no ill Ar-
gument amongst the Politicians of
those Times, if we may believe a
Secretary of State, who hath left this *Sir Rob.*
as a Maxim then, That the Queen *Nanton.*
through her whole Reign never was
guilty of creation, never in her choice
took into her Favour a mere New-
Man, or a Mechanick.

That he was but poor in the be-
ginning seems not strange, if we
consider him the youngest Brother,
and the Fortunes of his Family much
diminished by the Generosity (if not
Prodigality) of his Ancestors. But
the wants of Fortune are often re-
compenc'd with the richer gifts of
the Mind ; Nature foreseeing the
dis-

The Life of

disability of his Estate, stock'd him with a larger portion of Sense, bequeath'd him the fairer Patrimony of a faithful Memory, plausible Tongue, strong Wit, and solid Judgment.

But because the natural Endowments of the Mind, though never so great, are capable of Advancement by the help of Education, he resolv'd for one of the Universities. *Oxon* had the happiness to own him, where I find him in *Oriel* Colledg. His slender Fortune, and his active Genius, always pointed with a restless Ambition, would not let him settle here, so that he could only (like a Spy) take a transient view of, or (like an haasty Enemy) make some incursions and inrodes into those parts of Learning, which he afterward conquer'd, and was entirely Master of.

Therefore that he might the better

Sir Walter Raleigh.

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ter feed those Hopes Ambition had kindled in his thoughts, and remove nearer to the Mistress he courted ; He resolved for one of the Inns of Court, which he knew were always Places of Esteem with the Queen, who would say, *they fitted Youth for the future.* Here he spent his time, and improv'd himself in the intricate knowledge of our Laws, and in the studies of all Manly and Real Accomplishments.

But he staid not long here neither; for Fate it seems would have him of the Sword first. Yet though he laid aside his Gown, it was not with a design of never reassuming it ; for through the frequent Vicissitudes of his whole Life, he challenged a Reputation amongst the most Eminent States-men, being upon all Emergencies of Affairs consulted, as one of the best Oracles of Government
and

The Life of

and Policy in his time. It's true he was never sworn, for some Reasons of State which Courts spread a Vail over, but was frequently called to Council. Through his Life he made good his Motto, *Tam Marti, quam Mercurio*: and it is still a Question, Whether he was the better Statesman or Souldier? incomparably excelling in both the Arts of Peace and War. To rise by his Studies, probably his Condition and Ambition would not let him judg the speediest course; much time and a considerable Fortune being often spent in climbing up the tedious steps of Preferment that way. He thought it more easie to fight, than talk himself into a Reputation. Active-Times, and a busie War-like Princess, pointed him out the readiest way to the Temple of Honour. The Sword he judged, with *Alexander*,

Sir Walter Raleigh.

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der, the quickest Instrument to unty
all the Knots and tedious Obstacles
of Greatness.

Nor could he want Occasions e-
nough to draw forth his Spirits into
Action. *France* was engaged in a
Civil-War; And the Queen, whe-
ther out of concern for the *Prote-*
stants, or for Reason of State, to di-
vert the Giant-Enemy the *Spaniard*,
assisted the poor distressed *Dutch*.
And the *Spaniard* by a Policy of the
same nature, raises Rebellions in *Ire-*
land; which, like subterranean Fires,
broke out over all that Kingdom at
several times; When one *Mac* had in
one place spent his Force, presently
we hear of the eruption of another.
This Fire was kept in to the end of
her Reign, being maintained by that
lasting fewel of Rebellion, and com-
mon pretext of change in Govern-
ment, RELIGION: the Pope
pre-

pretending the Kingdom belonged to *St. Peter*.

1569. Of his first Publick Appearance Mr. *Cambden* hath given us this Account: The *Queen* though imbroid'd in a Rebellion at home of the Earl of *Northumberland* and *Dacres* in the North, yet failed not to relieve the *Protestants* in *France*, who were now brought into a distressed and almost desperate condition; she exhorted all the *Protestant* Princes to assist the Common Cause, supplied the *Queen* of *Navar* with Money, taking Jewels in pawn; Permitted *Henry Champer-noun* to carry into *France* a Troop of Gentlemen-Volunteers, who were resolv'd to make good the Motto their Colours bore, *Finem det nobis Virtus*. Among these Sir *Walter* engaged himself, though (as Mr. *Cambden* goes on) very young, and now first beginning to be of any note.

So

Sir Walter Raleigh.

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So soon the early blossoms of his Valour began to appear, which afterwards grew up to an exact ripeness and perfection. *France* was the first School, wherein he learnt the Rudiments of War; and the *Low-Countries* and *Ireland* (the Military Academies of those Times) made him Master of that Discipline; for in both places he exposed himself afterwards to Land-Service: But their slender Pay discouraged him from staying long in either. The Service of *Ireland* especially, scarce supplying the necessities of a Military Life.

Being restless and impatient of a narrow and low Condition, and his Services being not so successful as his Hopes were great, and his Merits not answered with a Fortune strong enough to buoy up his Reputation, he was resolv'd to leave no stone unturned

turned, nor any Method of living unexperimented. And since his Land-Expeditions could make no Additions to his Fortunes, Novelty, and a desire of putting himself into a better capacity, urg'd him to a Sea-Voyage. At both Sea and Land he was the true Pattern of Industry; and if any Man ever manag'd Necessity to its furthest Improvements, it was He. No expert Souldier or Mariner escap'd his Acquaintance or Enquiries; nothing that related to the Arts of War and Navigation misd his perusal: and one who was Master of those parts he enjoy'd, could with no great difficulty make those Arts his own. Add to this the Methods he us'd to improve himself: He slept but five hours; four he spent in reading and mastering the best Authors, two in a select Conversation and an Inquisitive Discourse,

Sir Walter Raleigh.

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course, the rest in Business. He underwent all the labours that attend a Souldier, and fared as the meanest. No common Mariner took more pains, or hazarded more in the most difficult Attempts.

What his Sea-Voyages produc'd Histories are silent in; but not long after his return I find him got again into *Ireland*, appearing with his own Colours flying in the Field, under the command of the Lord Grey, who succeeded *Pelham* in the Deputyship of that Kingdom. He had not been long there, before a Quarrel was rais'd between the Lord-Deputy and our Captain, (for with that Title he went into *Ireland*) which being complain'd of to a Council of War, was referr'd to the Council-Table in *England*. Our Historians would make the Lord Grey's Cause the fairest; but Justice, and the Result of the

B Coun-

1580.

Council, gave *Raleigh* the Victory. What were the occasions of this Quarrel our Annals slip over, and have only left a large Field for Conjecture to tire it self in. Whether an eager pursuit after Honour, without exact obedience to Military-Command, occasioned by a restless desire of doing something Great, or what ever else it might be, we leave the Reader to fancy: However if his Cause had not been good, no Apology, how well soever manag'd, could have brib'd the Judgment of so wise a Council, wholly strangers to his Worth and Person.

About this time Authors place the *Æra* of his Rise, but cannot well agree about the occasion of it. Some would have *Leicester* to be the chief Agent in it, and that he related the whole business at Council to the Queen with no little advantage to our

Sir Walter Raleigh.

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our Captain. Not so much probably out of respect to *Raleigh*, as to his own Interest. For Favourites, like their Princes, seldom espouse any Cause upon any other ground than what advances or stands with their own Designs. His own Designs indeed on the Queen were blasted, and finding the burden and envy of a Statesman too heavy for his aged shoulders, he was willing handsomely to impart them to a more active *Genius*. Though great Favourites seldom admit of a Partner, till Age makes them willing to withdraw, and leave the trouble of Business to more spritely years. They care not to have new Plants set, till themselves are almost wither'd and sapless.

Others would have his Rise attributed to *Suffex*, who brought him to Court to outshine *Leicester*, and eclipse

The Life of

clipse the splendor of his Enemy. But what was the strongest Argument and only Perswasive with the Queen was his Merits, which she soon saw, and presently encouraged. Nor must I here pass by one small step to his future Heighth, which our Chronicles have over-look'd, as below the Pen of an Historian, tho' some have judg'd an Account of some little transactions the best Inlets to Truth and Mysteries of State. The occasion was thus: Our Captain coming over out of *Ireland* upon the afore-mention'd Cause to Court, in very good habit, (which it seems was the greatest part of his Estate) which is often found to be no mean Introducer where Deserts are not known, found the Queen walking, till she was stopt by a plashy-place which she scrupled treading on; presently he spread his new Plush-Coat on the Ground.

Ground, on which the Queen gently trod, being not a little pleas'd, as well as surpris'd with so unexpected a Complement. Thus, as one remarks upon this Story, *An Advantageous Admission into the first Notices of a Prince, is more than half a degree to Preferment.* For he presently after found some gracious Beams of Favour reflecting on him, which he was resolv'd, and well knew how to cherish and contract. To put the Queen in remembrance, he wrote in a Window obvious to her Eye,

Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall.

Which her Majesty either espying, or being shewn, under-wrote this Answer,

If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all.

But his aspiring Soul could not rest

B 3 in

The Life of

in the lower, though safer way of living ; He could not be mean, whose Resolutions were so great, and whose Prudence and Activity made him capable, of the highest Preferments. Inspir'd with a restless and ambitious *Genius*, he design'd nothing but what was extreme ; and had rather not be, than not be one of the most Eminent. And to the greatest height probably he had arrived, had he lived in any other Princes Reigns than that of *Queen Elizabeth* and King *James* ; the former being not over-hasty to raise any to any great Honour, and the latter not caring for Men of War and Blood.

Raleigh was so towardly an Apprentice in the Court-Trade, that he soon set up for himself, and would have improved this stock of Favour to a great advantage, had he not lost by those common Enemies to it, En-

vy and Jealousy. In a short time he is become a *Minion*, obtains the *Queens* Ear, is often consulted, and nothing done without him. Her Favour and his Parts began to alarm his Rivals, who like some envious Neighbours will not easily permit any Fabrick to stand long that hinders their own Prospect. Jealous Favourites, like wise Planters, will not suffer the Under-Wood to rise, which may obstruct the growth of taller Trees.

Leicester began to repent his choice of his Creature, and thought he grew too fast in his Mistresses Favour. To stop the current of her Affection, he privately endeavours to undermine his Esteem, and introduce a new Favourite that might be his Rival. To bring about this Design, *Leicester* thought there would be nothing wanting, if by *Raleigh's* absence he could have opportunity to introduce

The Life of

the Earl of *Essex*; nor did he long expect before one offer'd it self: for the Queen being willing to encourage *Raleigh*, (who, as Mr. *Cambden* is pleased to tell us, was never sufficiently to be commended for the great pains he took to discover remote Countries, and to advance the Glory of the *English* Navigation and Trade) sent him on a Voyage to Sea. Nor did he make a vain and fruitless one; for at his Return he brought news of a new Country, discover'd by him in the Year 1584, called in honour of the Queen *Virginia*, before call'd **Wingandacoa** by the barbarous Inhabitants. A Country that hath been since of no inconsiderable Profit to our Nation. But though Patents were granted to him to settle a Plantation there, it grew not famous till the Reign of King *James*: Wherein this Nation quick-

Sir Walter Raleigh.

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quickly found out the Excellency and Fruitfulness of the Place, so agreeable to our *English* Bodies, and profitable to the *Exchequer*. Nature there is prodigal, and makes amends for her parsimony to other parts of the World. An Acre there yieldeth often forty Bushels of Corn; and, which is more strange, there being three Harvests in a Year: For, their Corn is sow'd, ripe, and cut down in little more than two Months.

For this, and other beneficial Expeditions and Designs, this Year her Majesty was pleas'd to confer on him the honour of Knighthood, which in her Reign was more esteemed than in her Successors. The Queen keeping the Temple of Honour close shut, and never open'd but to Vertue and Desert. Nor was she indeed ever hasty to reward; for she seldom paid in any other Coin than

1584.

than Patents and good Words. So that the greatest number of those who might pretend to Favour, were the Architects of their own Fortunes, and had little or no Encouragement from her, more than that of a *Spectator*, who praises the Workmanship, and commends the handsom Contrivances of a Building, but is at no part of the Expences of raising it. Hence our Sir *Walter's* Rewards are quickly enumerated, for he got nothing after all his Exploits and Designs, but the Wardenship of the *Stammeries*, Command of the Guard, and the Government of *Jersey* and *Virginia*; Places of no very great Profit, nor answerable to his Worth, or just Ambition.

1588. In 1588, the grand *Clymafterick* of Spain, (for Bodies Politick have their Critical Times) I find Sir *Walter* by his Example encouraging others of
the

the Gentry to set out Ships at their proper Charges, and by his admirable Conduct and Courage to put them to the best use. Which hired Ships were Actors of no small use in that fatal Blow given to the *Invincible Armada*. Three Years this Giant had been growing to that portentous Greatness, with infinite Expences and Industry; but was beaten, ruin'd, and dishonourably overthrown in less than a Months space: the *Spaniards* finding that our Ships as well as the Heavens could fight against them.

But this Shock, like some Ague-fit, was easily recover'd, and in a short time after the *Spaniards* began to renew their former Designs. For in the Parliament which began *Febr.* 19. 1592, I find Sir *Walter Raleigh* informing the House, that the Queen could not without Subsidies prevent the

1592.

the eminent dangers threatned from the *Spaniard*. Of which Subsidies he spake (as he protested) not only to please the *Queen*, to whom he was infinitely oblig'd, but for the necessity he both saw and knew; He told them, he very well discovered the great Strength of the King of *Spain*; and to shew his Mightiness, he inform'd the House how he possesse all the World. And that his Malice and ill purposes against this Realm might be evident, he shewed how on every side he had beleaguer'd us; In *Denmark*, the King being young, he had corrupted the Council and Nobility; so it was very likely he would speed himself of Ships from thence. In the Maritime Towns of the *Low-Countries*, and in *Norway* he hath laid in great store of Shipping. In *France* he hath the Parliament-Towns at command; In *Britanny* he

he hath all the best Havens; and in Scotland he hath corrupted the Nobility; and promis'd them Forces to assist the *Papists*, and that they were ready to joyn with any Foreign-Aids, that would make them strong enough to be by themselves, and to resist others; for, as he thought, there were not six Gentlemen of that Country of one Religion. In his own Country there are all possible Preparations making, and he is coming with sixty Gallies besides other Shipping. If our Subsidies are not sudden, he may with ease invade us riding at Anchor; but all will be little enough to withstand him. At his coming he fully resolveth to get *Plymouth*, or at least to possess some of the Havens this Summer within our Land. And *Plymouth* is in most danger; for no Ordnance can be carried thither to remove him, the Passages

Passages will not give leave. Now the way to defeat him, is to send a Royal Army and supplant him in *Britanny*, and to possess our selves there; and to send a strong Navy to Sea, and to lie with it on the Cape, and at *Lambuck*; to which places come all his Ships with Riches from all places, and there they may set upon all that come.

What success this Speech alone had I know not, but the Subsidy was granted with the general Consent of the House, to carry on the War against *Spain*. His Expedition a little after demonstrates that the Queen took his Advice, which was to afflict the *Spaniards* at a distance; and whilst she could not handsomly assault his more neighbourly and guarded parts, to disturb those that were more naked and further off, his *Indies*. The Moneys brought from thence

thence being the Nerves and Sinews of his Power, and the chiefest Incendiary in the *Irish Rebellion*, which if handsomly stopt, would put an end to his Greatness, and humble the Mighty Monarch.

That he might not want an opportunity to shew his Valour and Conduct in this Affair, the Queen sends him to Sea to manifest both; thinking none more fit to be imploy'd in a Business, than the Person that counsell'd and started it; having the Courage of a Souldier to put in execution the sober Advices of the Gown-man. To *America* he is sent with 15 Men of War to possess himself of *Panama*, where the *Spaniards* ship their Riches, or to intercept them in their passage homewards. But he found more Encouragement from the willingness of the Seamen than from the Winds, which held
the

the Ships in their Havens. for three Months: A Circumstance which put an ill look upon the Enterprize, and had almost made it vain. But nothing could allay the Courage of the Seamen, who were bouy'd up with the hopes of Prey, and the success of their Commander. Having set sail at last, they got beyond the *Spanish* Cape, called the *Lands-end*, where they met with unwelcome Intelligence, viz. That by express command from his *Catholick* Majesty no Ship was to stir from the *West-Indies* that Year. Together with this News, instead of meeting with the long'd-for Enemy, they were attacqu'd with a more invincible one, a furious Tempest, which disperst and disorder'd the Fleet, and sunk their Ship-Boats. Thus being on all sides assaulted with Tempests, Disasters, and the worse news of the
Spaniards

Sir Walter Raleigh.

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Spaniards stay in the other World, he thought the Heavens had dash'd his Designs, and rendred a well-ordered Contrivance abortive. Upon which at first he intended to make for home with the whole Fleet; but another Project offer'd it self after second thoughts, of dividing the Navy into two Squadrons, from the hope that tho' while together they had been successless, yet Fortune might offer to them when separated something worthy their patience and desires. Immediately one Squadron is committed to the Conduct of Sir John Burroughs, Son to the Lord Burroughs; the other to Sir Martin Forbisher, with their respective Commissions. Sir Martin's charge was to lie off and on the Coast of *Spain*, to hinder the coming in of their Vessels. Sir John's to wait at the *Azores* for the coming of the Caracks out of the *East-Indies*. C Sir

The Life of

Sir *Walter* was much blam'd for this Action, and thought short in his Politicks, in giving over the hopeful part of the Design to Sir *John Burroughs*, and retiring himself to Court. But the Success was the only Argument of his Oversight, and nothing but the Event could charge him with Imprudence. The Division of the Fleet prov'd a wise Design, and amazed the *Spaniard*. For while the *Spanish* Admiral eyed *Forbisher*, the mighty Caracks were unregarded, and left to the mercy of *Burrough's* Men of War as an easy Prey. Who having according to Order arriv'd at *Sancta Cruce*, a small Town in the Isle of *Azores*, a little after got sight of a *Portugal* Merchant-man, (briskly pursued by a Privateer of the Earl of *Cumberland's*) but could not reach her, an unhappy Calm keeping him at too far a distance. But a more wel-

Sir Walter Raleigh.

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welcom Storm arising in the night,
forc'd both to weigh Anchor. As soon
as day appear'd, the *Portuguees* was
unlading as fast as she could at *Flores*,
and upon the approach of the *Eng-
lish* fired their Carack: But though
their Designs were ruin'd as to that
Ship, yet the news they got from
some Prisoners taken, gave them
fresh hopes, and heartned them with
the Information, that several other
Merchant-men were behind coming
for *Spain*. This put Sir *John Bur-
roughs* upon placing his Men of War
at several distances, to reach as far
about as was possible. But they had
not long waited, before their dili-
gence was rewarded with the sur-
prisal of a large Vessel, call'd *The
Mother of God*, which was 165 foot
long from Head to Stern, and seven
Decks high, laden with Goods to the
value of 150000 *l. English*, besides
C 2 what

The Life of

vvhat the Seamen privately took for their own use.

Sir *Walter* having now deserted his Naval Employ, and become again a Courtier, it vvvas not long before he vvvas seiz'd vvith the idle Court-Disease of Love, the unfortunate occasion of the vvorst Action of his vvhole Life. For in the Year 1595. 1595, I find him under a Cloud, banish'd the Court, and his Mistresses Favour vvithdrawn, for devirginating a Maid of Honour. But vvhy for this one Action he should lie under the imputation of an *Atheist*, and from a single crime get the denomination of a Debauch, is the Logick of none but the Vulgar. By the same reason the other Favourites of those Times (*Leicester*, *Cecil*, and *Effex*) bid as fair for those titles, the latter making the Parallel good in this Vice with his successor *Buckingham*, thô

in

in other Circumstances there was a great disparity. Neither ever vvas it accounted any great Crime in the Orb of Courts. But to stop the Mouth of Fame, which is always open on such occasions, and to wipe out the Infamy of the Fact, he vvas shortly after married to the Object of his Love, the defloured Lady. And to get Reputation among the People, vvho always vv ere unjust to him in their sentiments, he put himself on a Voyage to *Guiana*, for the Improvement and Honour of his Country. Having therefore obtained his Liberty, (for, for this Action he vvas imprisoned some months) and finding all things vvith an unpleasant Aspect, he followed his *Genius* of discovering New Places, and tracing Nature in her more retired and hidden Paths ; thinking that Absence, and a Fortunate Voyage,

C 3 might

The Life of

might reinvest him in his Mistresses thoughts, and merit a new Esteem.

Guiana had been talk'd of much by the *Spaniards* as an excellent Country, and for one Commodity the *Spaniards* had a great reverence for, very famous, GOLD, which put Sir *Walter* upon the Attempt, judging it besides a place (if master'd) very convenient for its situation to annoy and disturb the *Spaniards American* Traffick, and would be no little help in building his Fortunes, and what was more estimable, place him in his Mistresses Favour again.

From *Phymouth* he set sail on the sixth of *February*, and on the 22^d of *March* arriv'd at the Isle of *Trinidado*, eight degrees on this side the *Equinoctial-Line*; where he soon made himself Master of *St. Josephs*, a small City; and, which was more considerable, of the Governour *Antonio Bereo*,

Bereo, from whom he got the best account of those Parts, and its Trade. Leaving his Ship at *Trinidado*, with some Pinaces and an hundred Men, and the small stock of Knowledge he obtain'd of *Bereo*, he made up the great River *Ormus*, in search of *Guiana*. What he found, saw, and performed there, his most Ingenuous History of those Parts may satisfy the Curious.

In his Return he fired *Cumana*, because the Inhabitants would not redeem it with Money; besides several Cottages at *St. Maries*, and *Rio de la Hach*. Neither did he desist in this Design of *Guiana*, for once or twice Mr. *Cambden* tells us afterwards he prosecuted it with vast Expences, although the Spaniards had plac'd a Colony at *Trinidado* to hinder his further Attempts.

Whilst Sir *Walter* is searching for a

new World, *Hawkins* and *Drake* are attempting fresh Things in those parts of *America* which the *Spaniards* vvere already posselt of. But their old Fortune had left them, and the unhappines of the Action put an
1596. end to their Lives; In the Year 1596 both died with Grief, and bequeath'd their Hatred of the *Spaniard* to Sir *Walter Raleigh* to revenge their Quarrel.

Who this Year return'd, being satisfi'd with his Expedition, and much more vvith the Reception he found at Court. The Storm vv as blown over, and his Mistresses Brow vv as more smooth than at his departure; after his Eclipse he shone brighter at Court, and the Death of those two famous Sea-men, put them upon courting Sir *Walter*, whom the necessity of State forc'd them to cherish and encourage. It's strange, that
vvhat

Sir Walter Raleigh.

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vvhat was *Essex's* Ruine should confirm Sir *Walter* in Favour, frequent Absence from his Mistress. But Sir *Walter's* Obsequiousness work'd much upon the humour of the Queen, who lov'd Pliantness, and exact Obedience, which *Essex* could not always counterfeit.

The *Spaniard* being encouraged with the possession of *Cales*, from whence it was but a short cut over into *England*, the Death of *Hawkins*, and their former scourge, *Drake*, and the earnest Sollicitations of the *Irish*, (who through her Reign had got the Itch of Rebellion, which vvas fed and maintained by the *Spaniard*, thô they had been sufficiently blooded by the *English*;) And the Queen foreseeing a Storm gathering, thought 'twas the best way to scatter it before it grew too great, and came too near. She resolved therefore to begin

gin with the *Spaniard* first, and fairly set on the Enemy in his own Ports. She speedily riggs a brave Fleet, consisting of 150 Ships, Mann'd by 6360 Souldiers, 1000 Volunteer-Gentlemen, 6772 Seamen. *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, and the Lord *Howard* were Commanders of equal Authority, having been both at an excessive charge in carrying on the War. To these were joyn'd a Council of War, consisting of several eminent Seamen and Souldiers, among whom was our *Sir Walter*. The Fleet was divided into four Squadrons; the first commanded by the Lord Admiral *Howard*; the second by *Essex*; the third by *Sir Thomas Howard*; the fourth by *Sir Walter Raleigh*.

In the beginning of *June* they set sail, and got to *Gades* the 20th: their Design being perfectly unknown, as well to their Enemies as their own

W. James No 30 Men.
Trinity Street

Men. *Essex* heated with Youth, and an ambition of doing bravely, would have presently landed and assaulted the Enemy: but this heat was allayed and corrected by Sir *Walter's* Advice, vvho impugned all such rash Attempts. At last a fit Opportunity presented it self, and by all it was resolv'd to fight them. At which News the Earl threw up his Hat for joy. The Ebbing-Waters would not permit the great Ships to engage, the Shelves being of greater hazard than the Enemy. Therefore *Raleigh* is pitch'd on as the most proper Person in the midst of the Channel to provoke them, vvho accordingly in a little Ship, called the *Wastspight*, directed his Prow against the *Spanish* Men of War, vvho thereupon presently fell back. Upon this the rest of the Fleet came in, and burnt and took several of their Ships. After
this

this Victory at Sea, the Men were very importunate to go on shore, whom *Essex* landed at *Puntal*, a league from the City. At first the *Spaniards* received them with a great deal of Courage, but the *English* charged so warmly, that they thought it their prudentst way to retire with more speed than they came out. The *English* pursued so close that they had almost recover'd the City-Gates as soon as they. The Earl got upon a Bulwark near the Gate, and from thence he espyed an Entrance into the Town, but very hazardous, it being down a very steep Precipice: but this did not affright several of our *English*, who leap'd from thence into the Town, and engaged the Enemy in the Streets. In the meantime Sir *Walter* and others having forced the Gates, entred the Town, and the Castle was surrendred upon
Mar-

Merciful Conditions. But Sir *Walter* was not idle, or eager after the enjoyment of his Conquest; for whilst others were reaping the plentiful Harvest of War, he with some small Ships who could pass up the Chanel, fired their Merchant-Men which were withdrawn to *Port-Real*, altho they offered two millions of Ducats for their Redemption. Great were the Losses to the *Spaniards* by this War; and if we may believe our Histories, amounted to no less than Twenty Millions of Ducats. Upon Consultation it was resolv'd to quit the Town, though contrary to the Opinion of *Essex*, vvhho was for keeping it, as a future Annoyance to the *Spaniards*. After this they took *Faro* in *Algarbe*; and being weary at last of their Victories, they resolv'd for home, though much against *Essex's* will, vvhole youthful
heat

The Life of

heat was but inflam'd by their Successes, but was wisely slack'd by the Prudence of the Admiral, and the sober Advice of Sir *Walter* : vvho finding their Men sick, and having gotten so ample Rewards, were not again for hazarding their Fortune upon hopes of a future Prey.

At their Return the Queen welcom'd and encourag'd her Souldiers vvith new Honours. All but *Essex* were pleased, who found State-Preferments not dispos'd of according to his mind. *Vere* was made Governour of the *Briel*, and Sir *Robert Cecil* Secretary of State.

To recover their Losses at *Gades*, the *Spaniard* riggs out a new Fleet, vvvhich were baffled alone by the Winds; for the greatest part were cast away and wreck'd. With the Reliques of this Fleet, in the Year following I find him upon his old
De-

Designs of *Ireland*: But the Queen was always too nimble for the grave *Don*, whose Designs, like his Ships, mov'd slow and heavy.

Twenty Ships were rigg'd out at present, and afterwards encreased to an hundred and twenty Men of War and Victuallers; five thousand Men rais'd, besides a thousand old Souldiers brought from the *Netherlands* by *Vere*. To appease *Effex*, the whole Conduct of the Expedition is committed to him. The Navy was divided into three Squadrons; The first led by *Effex* himself; The second by *Howard*; The third by Sir *Walter*, who now was esteemed the ablest Seaman of his Age. To enable this Expedition, several Persons of quality of all sorts engag'd themselves, who look'd rather like Courtiers than Souldiers, being more adorn'd with Feathers and gay Clothes, than

1597.

than arm'd with Courage and Resolution. On the ninth of *July* they set out with these Instructions, viz. To steer to *Farol* and the *Groine*, to surprize the *Spaniards* in their Harbours, and to intercept their *Indian Fleet* (the Bait of the War) at the *Azores*. Which Design was built upon very good Maximes of State: For it would hinder the Fleet intended against *England*; Their Merchant-men wanting Convoys, might be seized on; The *Azores* vvon, (where the *Indian Fleet* always call'd for fresh Water in their Return); the Queen have the Dominion of the Seas, and the *Spaniard* be obliged to a Treatment of Peace. *Essex* gave out that he was resolv'd to sacrifice Himself and the Navy for his Country: But his brisk Resolutions were quickly daunted by a dismal Tempest, which astonish'd the Mariners them-

themselves, and forc'd home our gaudy Volunteers, who thought no Enemy so terrible as a Tempest, and the severe motions of a Sea-sick stomach. Thus by this Contradiction of Heaven their Ships were torn, their Victuals spent, and they upon this Emergency forc'd to a Consultation what to do. Some were for laying aside the *Farol* and the *Groine* Attempts; others for a Voyage to the *Azores*, which was contradicted by *Vere*. So that at last *Essex* and *Raleigh* were pitch'd on to ride Post for Advice to the Queen. *Essex* talkt to the Queen of strange *Chimæra's*; how that if he were permitted to have the Fleet, he would with ease fire the *Spanish* Navy, and perform many other bold Designs; about which the Queen caution'd him, and desir'd the whole Business should be managed as their joynt discretion

D should

should prompt, and opportunity offer it self. But if it were possible, if any occasion courted them to it, they should fire the Ships in *Farol Haven*, and intercept what other Ships they could from the *Indies*; And upon all Occasions manifest their Conduct and Valour. With these Instructions they set sail again from *Plymouth*, (whither they were returned the seventeenth of *August*) but were separated by a Tempest near the *Landsend*. A cross Yard in *Raleigh's Ship* was broken by the impetuousness of the Storm, and fell, which forc'd him to stay behind to make it good; And having been falsly inform'd that the *Spanish Fleet* was bound for the *Azores*, after having repaired his Ship, he steer'd his course thitherwards. In the mean time *Essex's Jealousy*, and the pernicious Insinuations of *Raleigh's Enemies*, had wrought him in-

to

Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

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to a belief that this Division of the Navy was on purpose laid and fore-design'd by *Raleigh*: But however the business was put up at his Arrival, and *Essex* welcom'd him, making an *Apologie* for acquainting the *Queen* with the Division falsly represented, and built (as it appear'd) on wrong suppositions.

Here wanting Water, Sir *Walter* landed without leave, and scarce had taken in Water before he received Orders immediately to follow *Essex* to *Fayal*, whither he repaired: but not finding *Essex* there according to his Order, he spent his time in taking an exact survey of the Haven, and of the People there, who from the fear and apprehension of what followed, were hastily packing away their Goods. This fair Opportunity, upon Consultation, puts him upon taking the Town, and egg'd on the

D 2 Souldiers

The Life of

Souldiers in hopes of an ample Prey. Sir Gilly Merrick (one of *Essex* his Creatures) dissuaded Sir *Walter* from the Design, alledging it would rob the Earl of the Honour of taking it, and so confirm him his Enemy. But Sir *Walter*'s desire of Glory, and the Souldiers Avarice, urg'd him (after he had staid some time for *Essex*'s Arrival) to the Assault of the Place, which was at last taken. The next day after this Exploit *Essex* arrived at *Fayal*, where he was quickly inform'd of what *Raleigh* had done, and that the whole Business was transacted with no other design than to rob him of the Glory, which his Jealousy made him easily believe.

Some perswaded the Earl to try Sir *Walter* by a Council of War, and Cashier him; others without more ado would have him put to Death, for landing without Orders: At last
some

Sir Walter Raleigh.

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Some of *Raleigh's* Officers were Cashier'd, He himself frown'd on, and severely reprov'd by *Essex*. But he never wanted an Apology for his Ambition; instancing that he was not obliged to the Orders the inferior Officers and Souldiers were; that the Commission did not reach Him, being one of the three Generals; Moreover, that he staid for him four days; and that he was necessitated at last to land, being in extreme want of Water, vvhich was not to be had without fighting. However, the Lord *Howard* became his Mediator, and perswaded him to an honorable submission; which was perform'd, and accepted of; and thereupon both himself, and the cashier'd Officers and Souldiers were again admitted into favour. But this was only laying their Passions asleep awhile, which in the sequel of our story were

D 3

again

again awaken'd. I cannot here omit a speech of the Earls upon this occasion, (which *Sir Henry Wotten* calls a Noble Word) who being urged to put *Sir Walter* on Martial Law : *That I would do*, said he, *if he were my Friend.*

However, this Expedition was not so glorious and great as at first they hoped it might have been. For after burning the Town, and taking *Flores*, *Gratiosa*, and *Villa Franca* in *St. Michaels*, with three *American Spanish* Ships, together with the burning of a *Carack*, they came home much torn, leaky, and weather-beaten about the end of *October*. This Expedition was commented on variously by the People, who were strangely carried on with a blind Passion for *Essex*, and so very prone to misconstrue *Raleigh's* Actions, from a Prejudice they had entertain'd,

tain'd, that because he was not *Essex's* friend, he must be an enemy to his Country. However, the Queen look'd on him with another eye, and he grew faster in her favour than his Rival, who from this time began rather to decline, by a fault *Sir Walter* was afterwards guilty of, Insatiable Ambition; a Principle that put him on those Practices which brought him afterwards to the Block. *Essex* was incens'd that *Sir Robert Cecil*, *Raleigh's* Friend, was preferr'd in his absence. And because the Earl's Concerns are woven amongst *Sir Walters*, it will not be impertinent to give some Account of him here.

Essex was arriv'd to the height of Favour, and might have staid there, had he taken his Measures aright; had he own'd an Obsequiousness to the Queen, or been Master of the great Requisite in a Cour-

tier, *Disimulation* ; but it was a part of his Character to be a great Resenter, and a weak Dissembler of the least Disgrace. His *Ireland* Transactions were ill construed, and his Miscarriages nicely dissected by the curious Eyes of those State-Anatomists, the Lord-Treasurer *Buckhurst*, the Lord-Admiral *Nottingham*, and his mortal Enemy Secretary *Cecil*, who began to remove him out of that Favour he had long possess'd. But it was true, as the Earl of *Clarendon* has observ'd, " That though he was
" Rival'd by a strong and subtile
" Faction, which cared, consulted for
" his Ruine ; yet the Danger was
" thus allayed, that they were all his
" publick and professed Enemies,
" and so known to the Queen, that
" they durst never impertinently
" urge ought against him, since they
" were sure that Malice was con-
cluded,

“cluded, when the Reason of their
“Objection haply, might not be
“considered.

However, in 1601 the Earl drew
near his Ruine: for being hurried
on by *Cuffs* ill Counsel, and his own
Discontents, he projects new Plots
against the State, and tampers with
the King of *Scots* to remove his Ene-
mies at Court by force, informing
him that the Power of the Nation
lay in their hands, *Raleigh* being Go-
vernour of *Jersey*, &c. and other of
his Enemies having the strength of
the Nation at their command. And
vainly presuming upon the Love of
the Citizens, he projects to seize the
Court, and secure *Raleigh*, as the
most considerable Enemy he had.
Of which Designs *Gorges* informs Sir
Walter. The better to carry on his
designs, *Essex* goes into *London*, where
he endeavour'd to excite the Citi-
zens

zens to an Insurrection: But the City then being Rich, was not so apt to rebel; Rebellion being usually the Daughter of Poverty and Discontent. For these Treasonable Actions, being found guilty, he was condemned and executed.

That he died bravely and like a Gentleman, is not to be question'd; but that Sir *Walter Raleigh* should come openly to see him die, on purpose only to fat his Eyes with the Sacrifice of his Enemy, can never be granted, if we may believe himself in the same circumstances on the Scaffold, where he told his Auditors on the words of a Dying-man, he only came there to defend himself if any thing had been urg'd against him by the Earl.

Thus ended that Favourite, whose Death struck a damp on the Queens prosperous days, and gave blackness

to her declining Reign. This Blow, like that of Gunpowder, not only blew up his Friends and Neighbours, but shook his Enemies at a distance; for it reach'd Sir *Walter* too, who wanting strength to grapple with his Rival the Treasurer, and not owning humility enough to be his Servant, perish'd at last in the Encounter. This himself presag'd (if we may believe *Osborn*) as he came from the Execution of *Essex*, in a Boat, when he was heard to say, *That it was more safe to have many Enemies at Court of equal power, than one false and ambitious Friend who hath attain'd to the absoluteness of Command.*

The Queen could not long survive her Favourite; for I find her Death to be the next year following. A Queen who had enrich'd the Nation, reform'd Religion, curb'd the Pride of *Spain*, supported *France*, preserv'd

serv'd *Scotland*, protected the *Hollander* against the *Spaniard*, and had vanquish'd his Armies by Sea and Land, reduc'd *Ireland* to obedience notwithstanding all the subtil Practices of *Spain*, and open Assistance given in Arms to her *Irish* Rebels; with many other things, which might seem too much to be the Atchievements of one Reign.

1602

King *James* her Successor came to the possession of a Kingdom arrived at the heighth of Prosperity, which like other Bodies when they are at their *'Ακμή* tend to Corruption, and degenerate. This Sir *Walter* perceiv'd, & would have (as he thought) remedied. Sir *John Fortescue*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Walter*, and others, would have obliged the King by Articles before his coming to the Crown, that his Country-mens number should be limited: But this was
stopt

chopt by the prudent Treasurer, and
the bold *Northumberland*. Sir *Walter*
feared that the *Scots*, like Locusts,
would quickly devour this King-
dom; it being probable that (like
the *Goths* and *Vandals*) they would
settle in any Country rather than
their own, and would make it their
business to render our Nation as
poor as their own: for this, he, with
the rest of them, was afterwards
frown'd on by the King, and lost his
Command of the Guards.

However, Sir *Walter* still pursued
the Good and Glory of his Country;
and as formerly in Active Times,
gave his Advice against the Peace
with *Spain*, which might now with
no great difficulty be brought on its
knees. At the entrance of the King
he presented him with a Manuscript
of his own writing, with no weak
Arguments against the Peace. But
Sir

Sir *Walter* was mistaken ; for his Counsel was ill tim'd, and a new Part was now to be acted, the Scene being changed. Peace was the King's Aim, whether out of Fear, or Religious Principles I determine not. But with *Spain* a Peace is concluded, with an Enemy already humbled, who now had time given them to recover their former Losses, and were as it were cherish'd to assault us with the greater vigor : which how true it proved every Man can tell. And as if the King would quite run counter to the Queens Politiques, the Estates of the *Netherlands* are despised, slighted, and deserted, under pretence that it were of ill example for a Monarch to protect them.

The King is hardly warm in his Throne, but there is a great noise of a Plot, generally call'd Sir *Walter Raleigh's Treason* ; but upon vvhat Grounds

Grounds I know not, since he had the least hand in it, as by his Tryal will appear. A Plot that is still a Mystery, and hath a Vail spread over it; A Plot compos'd of such a Hodg-podg of Religion and Interests, that the World stands amazed Sir *Walter Raleigh* should ever be drawn into it; A Plot so unlikely to hurt others, or benefit themselves, that as *Osborn* tells us, *If ever Folly was capable of the title, or Pity due to Innocence, theirs might claim so large a share, as not possibly to be too severely condemn'd, or slightly enough punished.* Envy and Disdain, as Sir *Walter* has told us in his *Remains*, seek Innovation by Faction. Discontent is the great Seducer, which at first put him to search into a Plot, he afterwards was betray'd into. The chief Ingredients in this Medley were two Priests, *Watson* and *Clerk*, and Count *Arembergh*, Ambassador Extraordinary

ry for the Arch-Duke, who brought in *Cobham*, and he his Brother *George Brook*, both *Protestants*, at least seeming so; *George Brook* hook'd in *Parham* and others, and they the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, a rank *Puritan*; then came in *Sir Walter*, the wisest of them all according to *Sanderfon*, who as he tells us, dallied like a Fly in the flame till it consum'd him. Willing he was to know it, and thought by his Wit to over-reach the Confederates, whom he knew well enough, thō he dealt with none but *Cobham*, as I can find out. One *Mr. Lawrency* an *Antwerp*-Merchant, was the property made use of by *Arembergh*, and a Crony of the Lord *Cobhams*. These carried on the Contrivance a long while, which (as *Sanderfon* tells us) was betray'd by *Lawrency*, and the vigilancy of *Cecil*. And indeed it was morally impossible that so many

ny disagreeing weak Souls should carry on a Project without taking Air ; the least glimpse being enough to give light to the States-men of those times. Their Designs were,

1. To set the Crown on the Lady *Arabella* ; or to seize the King, and make him grant their Desires, and a Pardon.
2. To have a Toleration of Religion.
3. To procure Aid and Assistance from Foreign Princes.
4. To turn out of the Court such as they dislik'd, and place themselves in Offices.

Watson to be Lord-Chancellor.

George Brook Lord-Treasurer.

Sir Griffin Markham Secretary of State.

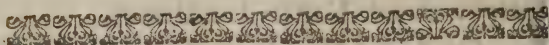
Lord Grey Master of the Horse, and
Earl-Marshal of *England*.

E

But

But it seems they made no provision for Sir *Walter*; which is no considerable Argument of his Innocency, who could have deserv'd, and might have expected as great a Reward as any of them, had he been engaged in the Plot.

To oblige to Secrecy, *Watson* draws up an Oath. But all is betray'd; they are seiz'd, examin'd, and try'd. How well or ill Sir *Walter* has acquitted himself, we shall leave to the Opinion of the Readers of the following TRYAL, which was exactly and faithfully taken.





THE
ARRAIGNMENT

OF

Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight.

AT Winton, Thursday the 17th of
November, Anno Dom. 1603,
before the Right Honourable,
The Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain,
Earl of Devon.

Lord Henry Howard.

Lord Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.

Lord Wotton.

Sir John Stanhope, Vice-Chamberlain.

Lord Chief-Justice of England, Popham.

Lord Chief-Justice of the Common-
Pleas, Anderson.

Justice Gaudie.

E 2

Justice

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Justice Warburton, and Sir William Wade
Commissioners.

First, The Commission of Oyer and Terminer was read by the Clerk of the Crown-Office; and the Prisoner bid hold up his Hand.

And then presently the INDICTMENT was in effect as followeth :

That he did Conspire, and go about to deprive the King of his Government; to raise up Sedition within the Realm; to alter Religion, to bring in the Roman Superstition, and to procure Foreign Enemies to invade the Kingdoms. That the Lord Cobham, the ninth of June last, did meet with the said Sir Walter Raleigh in Durham-House, in the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields, and then and there had Conference with him; how to advance Arabella Stuart to the Crown and Royal Throne of this Kingdom; and that then and there it was agreed,
that

that Cobham should treat with Aremberg, Embassador from the Arch-Duke of Austria, to obtain of him 600000 Crowns, to bring to pass their intended Treasons. It was agreed that Cobham should go to the Arch-Duke Albert, to procure him to advance the pretended Title of Arabella: from thence knowing that Albert had not sufficient means to maintain his own Army in the Low-Countries, Cobham should go to Spain to procure the King to assist and further her pretended Title.

It was agreed, the better to effect all this Conspiracy, that Arabella should write three Letters, one to the Arch-Duke, another to the King of Spain, and a third to the Duke of Savoy, and promise three things: First, to establish firm Peace between England and Spain. Secondly, To tolerate the Popish and Roman Superstition. Thirdly, To be ruled by them in contracting of her Marriage.

And for the effecting these Traiterous

70 **The Arraignment of**

Purposes, Cobham should return by the Isle of Jersey, and should find Sir Walter Raleigh Captain of the said Isle there, and take Counsel of Raleigh for the distributing of the aforesaid Crowns, as the Occasion or Discontentment of the Subjects should give cause and way.

And further, That Cobham and his Brother Brook met on the 9th of June last, and Cobham told Brook all these Treasons: To the which Treasons Brook gave his Assent, and did joyn himself to all these; and after on the Thursday following, Cobham and Brook did speak these words: That there would never be a good World in England, till the King (meaning our Sovereign Lord) and his Cubs (meaning his Royal Issue) were taken away.

And the more to disable and deprive the King of his Crown, and to confirm the said Cobham in his Intents, Raleigh did publish a Book, falsely written against the most
just

just and Royal Title of the King, knowing the said Book to be written against the just Title of the King; which Book Cobham after that received of him. Further, for the better effecting these Traiterous Purposes, and to establish the said Brook in his Intent, the said Cobham did deliver the said Book unto him the 14th of June. And further, the said Cobham, on the 16th of June, for accomplishment of the said Conference, and by the traiterous Instigation of Raleigh, did move Brook to incite Arabella to write to the three forenamed Princes, to procure them to advance her Title; and that she, after she had obtained the Crown, should promise to perform three things, viz. Peace between England and Spain. 2. To tolerate with impunity the Popish and Roman Superstitions. 3. To be ruled by them three in the contracting of her Marriage.

To these Motions the said Brook gave his Assent. And for the better effecting of the said Treasons, Cobham on the seventeenth

72 **The Arraignment of**
of June, by the *Instigation* of Raleigh, did
write Letters to Count Aremberg, and did
deliver the said Letters to one Matthew de
Lawrency, to be delivered to the said Count :
which he did deliver for the obtaining of the
600000 Crowns ; which Money by other
Letters Count Aremberg did promise to per-
form the payment of ; and this Letter Cob-
ham received the eighteenth of June. And
then did Cobham promise to Raleigh, that
when he had received the said Mony, he would
deliver 8000 Crowns to him : to which mo-
tion he did consent ; and afterwards Cob-
ham offered Brook, that after he should re-
ceive the said Crowns, he would give to him
10000 thereof ; to which Motion Brook
did assent.

To the Indictment Sir Walter Raleigh
pleaded Not Guilty.

The

The JURY.

Sir Ralph Conisby,	}	Knights.
Sir Thomas Fowler,		
Sir Edward Peacock,		
Sir William Rowe,		
Henry Goodyer,	}	Esquires.
Roger Wood,		
Thomas Walker,		
Thomas Whitby,		
Thomas Highgate,	}	Gentlemen.
Robert Kempthorn,		
John Chawkey,		
Robert Brumley,		

Sir *Walter Raleigh* Prisoner, was asked, whether he would take Exceptions to any of the Jury ?

Raleigh. I know none of them ; they are all Christians, and honest Gentlemen, I except against none.

E. Suff.

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E. Suff. You Gentlemen of the Kings Learned Counsel, follow the same course as you did the other day.

Raleigh. My Lord, I pray you I may answer the Points particularly as they are delivered, by reason of the weakness of my memory and sickness.

Popham, Chief Justice. After the Kings Learned Counsel have delivered all the Evidence, Sir *Walter*, you may answer particularly to what you will.

Heale, the Kings Serjeant at Law. You have heard of *Raleigh's* bloody Attempts to kill the King and his Royal Progeny, and in place thereof to advance one *Arabella Stuart* : The particulars of the Indictment are these. First, That *Raleigh* met with *Cobham* the ninth of *June*, and had Conference of an Invasion, of a Rebellion, and an Insurrection, to be made by the King's Subjects, to depose the King, and to kill his Children, poor Babes that never gave offence : Here
is

is Blood, here is a new King and Governour. In our King consists all our Happines, and the true use of the Gospel, a thing which we all wished to be settled after the death of the Queen. Here must be Money to do this, for Money is the Sinew of War. Where should that be had? Count *Aremberg* must procure it of *Philip* King of *Spain*, five or six hundred thousand Crowns, and out of this Sum *Raleigh* must have eight thousand. But what is that Count *Aremberg*? though I am no good *French*-man, yet it is as much as to say in *English*, Earl of *Aremberg*. Then there must be Friends to effect this: *Cobham* must go to *Albert* Arch-Duke of *Austria*, for whom *Aremberg* was Ambassador at that time in *England*. And what then? He must perswade the Duke to assist the pretended Title of *Arabella*. From thence *Cobham* must go to the King of *Spain*, and perswade him to assist the
said

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said Title. Since the Conquest there was never the like Treason. But out of whose Head came it? Out of *Raleigh's*, who must also advise *Cobham* to use his Brother *Brook* to incite the Lady *Arabella* to write three several Letters, as aforesaid in the Indictment; all this was on the ninth of *June*. Then three days after *Brook* was acquainted with it: After this *Cobham* said to *Brook*, It will never be well in England till the King and his Cubs are taken away. Afterwards *Raleigh* delivered a Book to *Cobham*, treacherously written against the Title of the King. It appears that *Cobham* took *Raleigh* to be either a God, or an Idol. *Cobham* endeavours to set up a new King, or Governour. God forbid mine Eyes should ever see so unhappy a change. As for the Lady *Arabella*, she upon my Conscience hath no more title to the Crown than I have, which before God I utterly renounce.

Cobham

Sir Walter Raleigh. 77

Cobham a Man bred in *England*, hath no experience abroad: but *Raleigh*, a Man of great Wit, Military, and a Sword-man. Now whether these things were bred in a hollow Tree, I leave to them to speak of, who can speak far better than my self. *And so sate him down again.*

Sir Edward Cook, the Kings Atturney.

I must first, my Lords, before I come to the Cause give one Caution, because we shall often mention Persons of eminent Places, some of them great Monarchs: What ever we say of them, we shall but repeat what others have said of them; I mean the Capital Offenders in their Confessions: We professing Law, must speak reverently of Kings and Potentates. I perceive these honourable Lords, and the rest of this great Assembly, are come to hear what hath been scattered upon the Rack of Report. We carry a just Mind, to condemn

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demn no man but upon plain Evidence. Here is Mischief, Mischief in *summo Gradu*, exorbitant Mischief. My Speech shall chiefly touch these three Points; *Imitation, Supportation, and Defence.*

The Imitation of Evil ever exceeds the Precedent; as on the contrary Imitation of Good ever comes short. Mischief cannot be supported but by Mischief; yea, it will so multiply, that it will bring all to confusion. Mischief is ever underprop'd by Falshood of foul Practices. And because all these things did concur in this Treason, you shall understand the Main, as before you did the Bye.

The Treason of the Bye, consisteth in these Points: First, That the Lord Grey, Brook, Markham, and the rest, intended by Force in the Night to surprize the King's Court: which was a Rebellion in the Heart of the Realm, yea in the Heart of the Heart, in the Court.

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They intended to take him that is a Sovereign, to make him subject to their Power, purposing to open the Doors with Musquets and Calievers, and to take also the Prince and Council. Then under the King's Authority to carry the King to the Tower; and to make a *Stale of the Admiral*. When they had the King there, to extort three things from him: First, A Pardon for all their Treasons. Secondly, A Toleration of the *Roman* Superstition: Which, their Eyes shall sooner fall out than they shall ever see; for the King hath spoken these words in the hearing of many, *I will lose the Crown, and my Life, before ever I will alter Religion.* And, thirdly, To remove Counsellors: In the room of the Lord Chancellor, they would have plac'd one *Watson* a Priest, absurd in Humanity, and ignorant in Divinity. *Brook*, of whom I will speak nothing, Lord-Treasurer. The great Secretary must

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must be *Markbam, Oculus Patriæ*. A Hole must be found in my Lord Chief Justice's Coat. Grey must be Earl-Marshal, and Master of the Horse, because he would have a Table in the Court: marry, he would advance the Earl of *Worcester* to an higher Place. All this cannot be done without a Multitude. Therefore *Watson* the Priest tells a Resolute Man that the King was in danger of *Puritans* and *Jesuites*; so to bring him in blindfold into the Action, saying, that the King is no King till he be Crown'd; therefore every Man might right his own Wrongs: but he is *Rex natus*, His Dignity descends as well as yours, my Lords. Then *Watson* imposeth a *blasphemous Oath*, That they should swear to defend the King's Person; to keep secret what was given them in charge, and seek all ways and means to advance the Catholick Religion. Then they intend to send for the
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the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, in the King's Name, to the Tower, lest they should make any Resistance, and then to take Hostages of them; and to enjoin them to provide for them Vi-ctuals and Munition. Grey, because the King removed before *Midsummer*, had a further reach, to get a company of Sword-men to assist the Action: Therefore he would stay till he had obtained a Regiment from *Ostend*, or *Austria*. So you see these Treasons were like *Sampson's* Foxes, which were joyned in their Tails, though their Heads were severed.

Raleigh. You Gentlemen of the Jury, I pray remember I am not charged with the Bye, being the Treason of the Priest.

Attorney. You are not. My Lords, you shall observe three things in the Treasons: First, They had a Watch-word (the King's safety) their Pretence

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was *Bonum in se*, their Intent was *Malum in se*. Secondly, They avouched Scripture; both the Priests had *Scriptum est*; perverting and ignorantly mistaking the Scriptures. Thirdly, They avouched the Common Law, to prove that he was no King till he was crowned; alledging a Statute of *Eliz. 13.* This, by way of Imitation, hath been the course of all Traytors.

In the 20th of *Edw. the 2d*, *Isabella* the Queen, and the Lord *Mortimer*, gave out, that the King's Person was not safe, for the good of the Church and Common-wealth.

The Bishop of *Carlile* did preach on this Text, *My Head is grieved*: meaning by the Head, the King; that when the Head began to be Negligent, the People might reform what is amiss.

In the 3d *Hen. 4.* Sir *Roger Claringdon* accompanied with two Priests, gave out, that *Richard* the Second was

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Alive, when he was Dead.

Edward the 3^d caused *Mortimer's* Head to be cut off, for giving counsel to murder the King.

The 3.*Hen* 7. Sir *Henry Stanly* found the Crown in the Dust, and set it on the King's Head; when *Fitzwater* and *Garret* told him that *Edward the 5th* was alive, he said, *If I be alive, I will assist him.* But this cost him his Head.

Edmond de la Pool, Duke of *Suffolk*, killed a Man in the Reign of King *Henry the 7th*, for which the King would have him hold up his hand at the Bar, and then Pardoned him. Yet he took such an Offence thereat, that he sent to the Noblemen, to help to reform the Common-wealth; and then said, he would go to *France*, and get Power there. Sir *Roger Compton* knew all the Treason, and discovered *Windor* and others, that were Attainted.

He said there was another thing that

would be stood upon, namely, *that they had but one Witness.* Then he vouched one *Appleyard's Case*, a Traytor in *Norfolk*, who laid a Man must have two Accusers. *Helms* was the Man that accused him; but *Mr. Just. Catlin* said, that that that Statute was not in force at that day. His words were [*Thrust her into the Ditch.*]

Then he went on speaking of Accusers, and made this difference: An Accuser is a speaker by Report, when a Witness is he that upon his Oath shall speak his knowledg of any Man.

A third sort of Evidence there is likewise, and this is held more forcible than either of the other two; and that is, when a Man by his Accusation of another, shall by the same Accusation also condemn himself, and make himself liable to the same Fault and Punishment: this is more forcible than many Witnesses. So then so much by way
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of Imitation. Then he defined Treason; there is Treason in the Heart, in the Hand, in the Mouth, in Consummation: comparing that in *Corde* to the Root of a Tree; in *Ore*, to the Bud; in *Manu*, to the Blossom; and that which is in *Consummatione*, to the Fruit.

Now I come to your Charge, you of the Jury. The greatness of Treason is to be considered in these two things, *Determinatione finis*, and *Electio-
ne mediorum*. This Treason excelleth in both, for that it was to destroy the King and his Progeny. These Treasons are said to be *Crimen læsæ Majestatis*; this goeth further, and may be term'd *Crimen extirpandæ Regiæ Majestatis, & totius Progeniei suæ*. I shall not need, my Lords, to speak any thing concerning the King, nor of the Bounty and Sweetness of his Nature, whose Thoughts are Innocent, whose Words are full of Wisdom and Learning, and

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whose Works are full of Honour ; although it be a true saying, *Nunquam nimis quod nunquam satis*. But to whom do you bear your Malice ? to the Children ?

Raleigh, To whom speak you this ? You tell me News I never heard of.

Attourney. Oh Sir, do I ? I will prove you the Notorioussest Traytor that ever came to the Bar. After you have taken away the King, you would alter Religion : as you, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, have followed them of the Bye in Imitation ; for I will charge you with the words.

Raleigh. Your words cannot condemn me, my Innocency is my Defence : Prove one of these things wherewith you have Charg'd me, and I will confess the whole Indictment, and that I am the horriblest Traytor that ever lived, and worthy to be Crucifi'd with a thousand thousand Torments.

Attour-

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Attourney. Nay, I will prove all :
Thou art a Monster, thou hast an
English Face, but a *Spanish* Heart. Now
you must have Money : *Aremberg* was
no sooner in *England* (I Charge thee
Raleigh) but thou incitedst *Cobham* to
go unto him, and to deal with him
for Money, to bestow on discontented
Persons, to raise Rebellion on the
Kingdom.

Raleigh. Let me Answer for my
self.

Attourney. Thou shalt not.

Raleigh. It concerneth my Life.

Lord Chief Justice Popham. Sir Wal-
ter Raleigh, Mr. *Attourney* is but yet in
the General, but when the Kings
Counsel have given the Evidence
wholly, you shall Answer every Par-
ticular.

Attourney. Oh ! do I touch you.

Lord Cecil. Mr. *Attourney*, when you
have done with this General Charge,

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do you not mean to let him answer to every Particular?

Attourney. Yes, when we deliver the Proofs to be read. *Raleigh* procured *Cobham* to go to *Aremberg*, which he did by his Instigation: *Raleigh* supped with *Cobham* before he went to *Aremberg*; after Supper, *Raleigh* conducted him to *Durham House*; from whence *Cobham* went with *Lawrency*, a Servant of *Aremberg's*, unto him, and went in by a Back-way. *Cobham* could never be quiet until he had entertain'd this Motion, for he had four Letters from *Raleigh*. *Aremberg* answered, the Money should be performed, but knew not to whom it should be distributed. Then *Cobham* & *Lawrency* came back to *Durham House*, where they found *Raleigh*. *Cobham* and *Raleigh* went up, and left *Lawrency* below, where they had secret Conference in a Gallery, and after *Cobham* and *Lawrency* departed from

from Raleigh. Your Jargon was Peace! What is that? Spanish Invasion, Scottish Subversion. And again, you are not a fit Man to take so much Money for procuring of a Lawful Peace, for Peace procur'd by Money is dishonourable. Then Cobham must go to Spain, and return by Jersey, where you were Captain: And then because Cobham had not so much Policy, or at least Wickedness as you, he must have your advice for the distribution of the Money. Would you have deposed so good a King, lineally descended of Elizabeth, Eldest Daughter of Edward the 4th? why then must you set up another? I think you meant to make Arabella a Titular Queen, of whose Title I will speak nothing, but sure you meant to make her a Stale: Ah good Lady! you could mean her no good.

Raleigh. You tell me News, Mr. Attourney.

Attour-

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Attourney. Oh Sir! I am the more large, because I know with whom I deal : For we have to deal to day with a Man of Wit.

Raleigh. Did I ever speak with this Lady?

Attourney. I vvill track you out before I have done : *English-Men* vvill not be led by persvasion of Words, but they must have Books to persvvade.

Raleigh. The Book vv as written by a Man of your Profession, Mr. *Attourney*.

Attourney. I vvould not have you Impatient.

Raleigh. Methinks you fall out vvith your self, I say nothing.

Attourney. By this Book you vvould persvvade Men that he is not the Lavvful King. Novv let us consider some Circumstances : My Lords, you know my Lord *Cobham* (for vvhom vve all

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Lament, and Rejoyce ; Lament in that his House, which hath stood so long unspotted, is now Ruinated ; Rejoyce, in that his Treasons are Reveal'd) : he is neither Politician nor Sword-Man ; Raleigh was both, united in the Cause with him, and therefore cause of his Destruction. Another Circumstance is the secret Contriving of it. *Humphry Stafford* claimed Sanctuary for Treason. Raleigh in his Machivilian Policy hath made a Sanctuary for Treason. He must talk with none but *Cobham*, because (saith he) one Witness can never condemn me. For *Brook* said unto Sir *Griffith Markham*, Take heed how you do make my Lord *Cobham* acquainted ; for whatsoever he knoweth, Raleigh the Witch will get it out of him. As soon as Raleigh was examined on one Point of Treason concerning my Lord *Cobham*, he wrote to him thus ; I have been examined of you, and
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confessed nothing. Further you sent to him by your trusty *Francis Kemish*, that one Witness could not condemn; and therefore bad his Lordship be of good Courage. Came this out of *Cobham's Quiver*? No: But out of *Raleigh's Machivilian and Devilish Policy.* Yea, but *Cobham* did retract it; Why then did you urge it? Now then see the most horrible Practices that ever came out of the bottomless Pit of the Lowest Hell. After that *Raleigh* had Intelligence that *Cobham* had Accused him, he endeavoured to have Intelligence from *Cobham*, which he had gotten by young *Sir John Payton*: But I think it was the Error of his Youth.

Raleigh. The Lords told it me, or else I had not been sent to the Tower.

Attourney. Thus *Cobham* by the Instigation of *Raleigh*, entred into these Acti-

Actions : So that the Question will be,
Whether you are not the principal
Traitor, and he would nevertheless
have entred into it? Why did *Cobham*
retract all that same? First, because
Raleigh was so Odious, he thought he
should fare the worse for his sake. Se-
condly, he thought thus with himself,
if he be free, I shall clear my self the
better. After this *Cobham* asked for a
Preacher to Confer with, pretending
to have Doctor *Andrews*; but indeed
he meant not to have him, but Mr.
Galloway; a Worthy and Reverend
Preacher, who can do more with the
King (as he said) than any other;
that he, seeing his constant Denial,
might inform the King thereof. Here
he plays with the *Preacher*. If *Raleigh*
could perswade the Lords, that *Cobham*
had no Intent to travel, then he thought
all should be well. Here is Forgery.
In the Tower *Cobham* must write to
Sir

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Sir *Thomas Vane*, a worthy Man, that he meant not to go into *Spain*; which Lett^r *Raleigh* devised in *Cobham's* Name.

Raleigh. I will wash my hands of the Indictment, and die a true Man to the King.

Attourney. You are the absolutest Traytor that ever was.

Raleigh. Your Phrases will not prove it, Mr. *Attourney*.

Attourney. *Cobham* writeth a Letter to my Lord *Cecil*, and doth will *Mellus* his Man, to lay it in a *Spanish* Bible; and to make as though he found it by chance. This was after he had Intelligence with this Viper, that he was false.

Lord Cecil. You mean a Letter intended to me, I never had it.

Attourney. No, my Lord, you had it not. You, my Masters of the Jury, respect not the Wickedness and Hatred of
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Sir **Walter Raleigh.** 95

the Man, respect his *Cause*; if he be guilty, I know you will have care of it, for the Preservation of the King, the Continuance of the Gospel authoris'd, and the Good of us all.

Raleigh. I do not hear yet, that you have spoken one word against me, here is no Treason of mine done: If my Lord Cobham be a Traytor, what is that to me?

Attourney. All that he did was by thy Instigation, thou Viper; for I thou thee, thou Traytor.

Raleigh. It becometh not a Man of Quality and Virtue, to call me so: But I take comfort in it, it is all you can do.

Attourney. Have I anger'd you?

Raleigh. I am in no Case to be angry.

Popham. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Mr. *Attourney* speaketh out of the Zeal of his Duty, for the Service of the King,
and

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and you for your Life ; be valiant on
both sides.

Now they proceed to the Reading
the Proofs.

The Lord Cobham's Examination
Read.

‘He confesseth he had a Passport to
‘go into *Spain*, intending to go to the
‘Arch-Duke to confer with him about
‘these Practices ; and because he knew
‘the Arch-Duke had not Money to pay
‘his own Army, from thence he meant
‘to go to *Spain*, to deal with the King
‘for the 600000 Crowns, and to re-
‘turn by *Jersey*, and that nothing
‘should be done, until he had spoken
‘with Sir *Walter Raleigh* for distribution
‘of the Money, to them which were
‘discontented in *England*. At the first
‘beginning he breathed out Oaths and
‘Excla-

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‘Exclamations against *Raleigh*, calling
‘him Villain and Traytor; saying
‘he had never entred into these Cour-
‘ses, but by his Instigation, and that
‘he would never let him alone.

Here Mr. *Attourney* willed the Clerk
of the Crown Office to read over
these last words again (*he would
never let him alone.*)

The Lord Cobham's Examination.

‘Besides he spake of Plots and Inva-
‘sions: Of the Particulars whereof
‘he could give no Account, though
‘*Raleigh* and he had conferred of them.
‘Further, he said, He was afraid of *Ra-*
‘*leigh*, that when he should return by
‘*Jersey*, that he would have him and
‘the Money to the King. Being Exa-
‘mined of Sir *Arthur Gorge*, he freed
‘him, saying:

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They never durst trust him, but Sir Arthur Savage they intended to use, because they thought him a fit Man.

Raleigh. Let me see the Accusation : This is absolutely all the Evidence can be brought against me ; poor shifts ! You Gentlemen of the Jury, I pray you understand this : This is that which must either condemn, or give me Life ; which must free me, or send my Wife and Children to beg their Bread about the Streets. This is that must prove me a notorious Traytor, or a true Subject to the King. Let me see my Accusation, that I may make my Answer.

Clerk of the Council. I did read it, and shew you all the Examinations.

Raleigh. At my first Examination at Windsor, my Lords asked me, what I knew of Cobham's Practice with *Aremberg* ? I answered Negatively : And as
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concerning *Arabella*, I protest before God, I never heard one word of it. If that be proved, let me be guilty of ten thousand Treasons. It is a strange thing you will impute that to me, when I never heard so much as the Name of *Arabella Stuart*, but only the Name of *Arabella*.

After being Examined, I told my Lords, that I thought my Lord *Cobham* had Conference with *Aremberg*, I suspected his Visiting of him: For after he departed from me at *Durham House*, I saw him pass by his own Stairs, and passed over to *St. Mary Saviours*, where I knew *Lawrency*, a Merchant, and a Follower of *Aremberg*, lay, and therefore likely to go unto him. My Lord *Cecil* asked my Opinion concerning *Lawrency*; I said, that if you do not apprehend *Lawrency*, it is dangerous he will flie; if you do apprehend him, you shall give my Lord *Cobham* notice

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thereof. I was asked likewise, who was the greatest Man with my Lord Cobham? I answered, I knew no Man so great with him, as young Wyat of Kent.

As soon as Cobham saw my Letter to have discovered his Dealing with Aremberg, in his Fury he accused me, but before he came to the Stair-foot he repented, and said he had done me wrong. When he came to the end of his Accusation, he added, That if he had brought this Money to Jersey, he fear'd that I would have deliver'd him and the Money to the King. Mr. Atturney, you said this never came out of Cobham's Quiver, he is a simple Man. Is he so simple? No: He hath a Disposition of his own, he will not easily be guided by others, but when he has once taken Head in a Matter, he is not easily drawn from it; he is no Babe. But it is strange for me to de

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vise with *Cobham*, that he should go to *Spain*, to perswade the King to disburse so much Money, he being a Man of no Love in *England*, and I having resigned my room of chiefest Command, the Wardenship of the *Stanneries*: Is it not strange for me to make my self *Robin Hood*, or a *Kett*, or a *Cade*? I knowing *England* to be in better Estate to defend it self than ever it was. I knew *Scotland* United; *Ireland* Quieted, wherein of late our Forces were dispersed; *Denmark* assured, which before was Suspected. I knew, that having a Lady whom Time had surprized, we had now an active King, a lawful Successor, who would himself be present in all his Affairs. The State of *Spain* was not unknown to me. I had written a Discourse, which I had intended to present unto the King, against Peace with *Spain*. I knew the *Spaniard* had six Repulses, three in *Ireland*,

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land, and three at Sea, and once in 1588 at *Cales*, by my Lord Admiral. I knew he was Discouraged and Dishonoured. I knew the King of *Spain* to be the proudest Prince in Christendom; but now he cometh Creeping to the King my Master for Peace. I knew whereas before he had in his Port six or seven score Sail of Ships, he hath now but Six or Seven. I knew of Twenty five Millions he had from his *Indies*, he hath scarce one left. I knew him to be so Poor, that the Jesuites in *Spain*, who were wont to have such large Allowance, were faine to beg at the Church-Door. Was it ever read or heard, that any Prince should disburse so much Money without a sufficient Pawn? I knew her own Subjects, the Citizens of *London*, would not lend her Majesty Money without Land in Mortgage. I knew the *Parliament* and the States Money
yvith-

without *Flushing*, *Brill*, and other Towns for a Pawn. And can it be thought, that he vvould let *Cobham* have so great a Sum?

I never came to the Lord *Cobham's* but about matters of his Profit, as the Ordering of his House, Paying of his Servants Board-vvages, &c. I had of his vvhen I vvvas examined, Four Thousand Pounds vvorth of Jewels for a Purchase; a Pearl of three thousand Pound, and a Ring vvorth five hundred Pound: If he had had a fancy to run avvay, he vvould not have left so much to have purchased a Lease in Fee Farm. I savv him buy three hundred Pounds vvorth of Books to send to his Library at *Canterbury*, and a Cabinet of thirty Pound to give to Mr. *Attourney*, for dravving the Conveyances; and God in Heaven knovveth, not I, vvwhether he intended to travel or no. But for that Practice vvith *Ara-*

bella, or Letters to *Aremberg* framed, or any Discourse vvith him, or in vvhat Language he spake unto him; if I knew any of these things, I vvould absolutely confess the Indictment, and acknowledge my self vvorthy ten thousand Deaths.

Cobham's second Examination read.

The Lord *Cobham* being required to Subscribe to an Examination, there vvvas shewved a Note under Sir *Walter Raleigh's* hand, the vvchich vvhen he had perused, he paused, and after brake forth into these Speeches; Oh Villain! Oh Traytor! I will now tell you all the Truth: And then said, His purpose vvvas to go into *Flanders*, and into *Spain*, for the obtaining the aforesaid Money, and that *Raleigh* had appointed to meet him in *Jersey* as he returned Home, to be advised of him

him about the Distribution of the Money.

Popham, Lord Chief Justice. When Cobham answer'd to the Interrogatories, he made scruple to subscribe, and being urged to it, he said, If he might hear me affirm, that a Person of his Degree ought to set his Hand, he would; I lying then at Richmond, for fear of the Plague, was sent for, and I told he ought to subscribe; otherwise it were a Contempt of a high Nature: Then he subscribed. The Lords questioned with him further, and he shewed them a Letter, as I thought written to me, but it was indeed written to my Lord Cecil: He desired to see the Letter again, and then said, Oh Wretch! Oh Traitor! Whereby I perceived you had not performed that Trust he had reposed in you.

Raleigh. He is as passionate a Man
as

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as lives, for he hath not spared the best Friends he hath in *England* in his Passion. My Lords, I take it, he that has been examined, has ever been asked at the time of his Examination, if it be according to his meaning, and then to subscribe. Methinks, my Lords, when he accuses a Man, he should give some Account and Reason of it; it is not sufficient to say, we talked of it. If I had been the Plotter, would not I have given *Cobham* some Arguments, whereby to perswade the King of *Spain*, and answer his Objections. I knew *Westmorland* and *Bothwell*, Men of other Understandings than *Cobham*, were ready to beg their Bread.

Sir Thomas Fowler, one of the Jury.
Did *Sir Walter Raleigh* write a Letter to my Lord before he was examined concerning him, or not?

Attourney. Yes.

Lord Cecil. I am in great Dispute with

with my self to speak in the Case of this Gentleman: A former Dearnels between me and him tied so firm a Knot of my Conceit of his Virtues, now broken by a Discovery of his Imperfections. I protest, did I serve a King that I knew would be displeased with me for speaking, in this Case I would speak whatever came of it: But seeing he is compacted of Piety and Justice, and one that will not mislike of any Man for speaking a Truth, I will answer your Question.

Sir Walter Raleigh was staid by me at *Windsor*, upon the first News of *Coppy*, that the Kings Person should be surpris'd by my Lord *Grey*, and Mr. *George Brook*; when I found *Brook* was in, I suspected *Cobham*, then I doubted *Raleigh* to be a partaker. I speak not this, that it should be thought I had greater Judgment than the rest of my Lords, in making this haste to have them

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them examined. *Raleigh* following to *Windſor*, I met with him upon the *Tarras*, and willed him, as from the King to ſtay, ſaying, The Lords had ſomething to ſay to him : Then he was examined, but not concerning my Lord *Cobham*, but of the Surpriſing Treason. My Lord *Grey* was apprehended, and likewise *Brook* ; by *Brook* we found, that he had given notice to *Cobham* of the ſurpriſing Treason, as he delivered it to us, but with as much ſparingneſs of a Brother as he might : We ſent for my Lord *Cobham* to *Richmond*, where he ſtood upon his Juſtification, and his Quality ; ſometimes being froward, he ſaid he was not bound to ſubſcribe, wherewith we made the King acquainted. *Cobham* ſaid, if my Lord Chief Juſtice would ſay it were a Contempt, he would ſubſcribe ; whereof being reſolved, he ſubſcribed. There was a Light given

to

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to Aremberg, that Lawrency was examined, but that Raleigh knew that Cobham was examined, is more than I know.

Raleigh. If my Lord Cobham had trusted me in the Main, was not I as fit a Man to be trusted in the Bye?

Lord Cecil. Raleigh did by his Letters acquaint us, that my Lord Cobham had sent Lawrency to Aremberg, when he knew not he had any Dealings with him.

Lord H. How. It made for you, if Lawrency had been only acquainted with Cobham, and not with you. But you knew his whole Estate, and were acquainted with Cobham's Practice with Lawrency, and it was known to you before, that Lawrency depended on Aremberg.

Attourney. 1. Raleigh protested against the surprising Treason. 2. That he knew not of the Matter touching

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Arabella. I would not charge you Sir Walter, with a matter of Falshood. You say, you suspected the Intelligence that Cobham had with *Aremberg*, by *Lawrency*.

Raleigh. I thought it had been no other Intelligence, but such as might be vvarranted.

Attourney. Then it was but lawful Suspicion. But to that whereas you said, that Cobham had accused you in Passion, I answer three Ways : 1. I observed vvhhen Cobham said, Let me see the Letter again ? he paused, and vvhhen he did see that Count *Aremberg* vvas touched, he cried out, Oh Traytor ! Oh Villain ! Now vvill I confess the vvhole Truth. 2. The Accusation of a Man on Hear-say, is nothing : Would he accuse himself on Passion, and ruinate his Cause and Posterity, out of Malice to accuse you ? 3. Could this be out of Passion ? Mark the manner

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ner of it: *Cobb.* had told this at least two months before to his Brother *Brook*,
You are Fools, you are on the Bye, Raleigh
and I are on the Main, we mean to take a-
way the King and his Cubs; this he deli-
vered two months before. So mark
the manner and the matter, he vvould
not turn the Weapon against his ovvn
Bosom, and accuse himself to accuse
you.

Raleigh. Hath *Cobham* confessed
that?

Lord Chief Justice. This is spo-
ken by *Mr. Attourney*, to prove
that *Cobham's* Speech came not out of
Passion.

Raleigh. Let it be proved that *Cob-*
ham said so.

Attourney. *Cobham* saith, He vvas
a long time doubtful of *Raleigh*, that
he vvould send him and the money to
the King. Did *Cobham* fear lest you
vvould betray him in *Jersey*? Then of
ne-

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necessity there must be Trust betvveen you. No man can betray a man but he that is trusted, in my understanding This is the greatest Argument to prove that he vvas acquainted vvith *Cobham's* Proceedings. *Raleigh* has a deeper reach than to make himself, as he said, *Robin Hood*, a *Kett*, or *Cade*, yet I never heard that *Robin Hood* vvas a Traytor they say he vvas an Outlavv. And vvhereas he saith, that our King is not only more Wealthy and Potent than his Predecessors, but also more Politick and Wise, so that he could have no hope to prevail. I ansvver, There is no King so Potent, Wise and Active but he may be overtaken through Treason. Whereas you say *Spain* is so Poor, discoursing so largely thereof: it had been better for you to have kept in *Guiana*, than to have been so well acquainted with the State of *Spain*. Besides, if you could have brought

Spain

Sir Walter Raleigh. 113

Spain and Scotland to have joyned, you might have hoped to prevail a great deal the better. For his six Overthrows, I answer ; He hath the more Malice, because Repulses breed desire of Revenge. Then you say, you never talked with *Cobham* but about Leases, and letting Lands, and ordering his House ; I never knew you Clerk of the Kitchen, &c. If you had fallen on your Knees at first, and confessed the Treason, it had been better for you. You say, he meant to have given me a Cabinet of thirty Pound, perhaps he thought by those means to have anticipated me herewith. But you say, all these are Circumstances. I answer, all this Accusation in Circumstance is true : Here now I might appeal to my Lords, that you take hold of this, that he subscribed not to the Accusation.

Lord H. How. *Cobham* was not then pressed to subscribe.

H

At-

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Attorney. His Accusation being testified by the Lords, is of as great force, as if he had subscribed. *Raleigh* saith again, if the Accuser be alive, he must be brought face to face to speak, and alledges 25th *Edw.* 3d. That there must be two sufficient Witnesses that must be brought face to face before the Accused, and alledgeth 10. and 13. *Eliz.*

Raleigh. You try me by the Spanish Inquisition, if you proceed only by the Circumstances without two Witnesses.

Attourney. This is a Treasonable Speech.

Raleigh. *Evertere hominem justum i Causa sua injustum est:* Good my Lords let it be proved either by the Laws of the Land, or the Laws of God, that there ought not to be two Witnesses appointed; yet I will not stand to defend this Point in Law, if the King

will

Sir **Walter Raleigh.** 115

will have it so: it is no rare thing for a Man to be falsly accused. A Judg condemned a Woman in *Sarum* for killing her Husband, on the Testimony of one Witness; afterwards his Man confessed the Murder, when she was executed. Who after being touched in Conscience for the Judgment, was used to say, *Quod nunquam de hoc facto animam in vita sua purgaret.* It is also commanded by the Scripture, *Allocutus est Jehova Moſen, In Ore duorum aut trium Testium, &c.*

If Christ requireth it, as it appeareth, *Matth. 18.* If by the Canon, Civil Law, and God's Word, it be required, that there must be two Witnesses at the least, bear with me if I desire one.

I would not desire to live, if I were privy to *Cobham's* Proceedings: I had been a Slave, a Villain, a Fool, if I had endeavoured to set up *Arabella,*

H 2

and

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and refused so Gracious a Lord and
Sovereign: But urge your Proofs.

Lord Chief Justice. You have offered
Questions on divers Statutes, all which
mention two Accusers in case of In-
dictments; you have deceived your
self, for the Laws of 25. *Ed.* 3. and
5. *Ed.* 6. are repeal'd. It sufficeth now
if there be Proofs made either under
Hand, or by Testimony of Witnesses,
or by Oaths; it needs not the Sub-
scription of the Party, so there be
Hands of credible Men to testifie their
Examination.

Raleigh. It may be an Error in me,
and if those Laws be repeal'd, yet I
hope the Equity of them remains still
but if you affirm it, it must be a Law
to Posterity. The Proof of the Com-
mon Law is by Witness and Jury
let *Cobham* be here, let him speak it
Call my Accuser before my Face, and
I have done.

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Attourney. *Scientia sceleris est mera Ignorantia*: You have read the Letter of the Law, but understand it not. Here was your Anchor-hold, and your Randsvouz: you trust to Cobham, either Cobham must accuse you, or no body; if he did, then it would not hurt you, because he is but one Witness; if he did not, then you are safe.

Raleigh. If ever I read word of the Law or Statute before I was Prisoner in the Tower, God confound me.

Attourney. Now I come to prove the Circumstances of the Accusation to be true. Cobham confessed he had a Passport to travel, hereby intending to present Overtures to the Arch-Duke, and from thence to go to Spain, and there to have Conference with the King for Money: You say he promised to come home by Jersey, to make merry with you and your Wife,

H 3

Raleigh.

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Raleigh. I said, in his return from France, not Spain.

Attourney. Further, in his Examination he saith, nothing could be set down for the Distribution of the Monney to the Discontented, without Conference with *Raleigh*. You said it should have been for procurement of Peace, but it was for raising Rebellion. Further, *Cobham* saith, he would never have entred into these Courses, but by your Instigation, and that you would never let him alone. Your Scholar was not apt enough to tell us all the Plots, that is enough for you to do, that are his Master: You intended to trust Sir *Arthur Savage*, whom I take to be an honest and true Gentleman, but not Sir *Arthur Gorge*.

Raleigh. All this is but one Accusation of *Cobham's*, I hear no other thing, to which Accusation he never subscribed nor avouched it, I beseech you,
my

my Lords, let *Cobham* be sent for, charge him on his Soul, on his Allegiance to the King ; if he affirm it, I am Guilty.

Lord Cecil. It is the Accusation of my Lord *Cobham*, it is the Evidence against you, must it not be of force without his Subscription ? I desire to be resolved by the Judges, whether by the Law it is not a forcible Argument of Evidence.

The Judges. My Lord, it is.

Raleigh. The King at his Coronation is sworn, *In omnibus Judiciis suis Æquitatem, non Rigorem Legis, observare*: By the Rigour and Cruelty of the Law it may be a forcible Evidence.

Lord Chief Justice. That is not the Rigour of the Law, but the Justice of the Law ; else when a Man hath made a plain Accusation, by Practice he might be brought to retract it again.

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Raleigh. Oh my Lord, you may use Equity.

Lord Chief Justice. That is from the King, you are to have Justice from us.

Lord Anderson. The Law is, if the Matter be proved to the Jury, they must find you Guilty; for *Cobham's* Accusation is not only against you, there are other things sufficient.

Lord Cecil. Now that Sir *Walter Raleigh* is satisfied, that *Cobham's* Subscription is not necessary: I pray you Mr. *Attourney* go on.

Raleigh. Good Mr. *Attourney* be patient, and give me leave.

Lord Cecil. An unnecessary Patience is a hindrance, let him go on with his Proofs, and then refel them.

Raleigh. I would answer particularly.

Lord Cecil. If you would have a Table, and Pen, and Ink, you shall.

Then

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Then Paper and Ink was given him.

Here the Clerk of the Crown read the Letter, which the Lord *Cobham* did write in *July*, which was to the effect of his former Examination, further saying, *I have disclosed all; to accuse any one falsely, were to burthen my own Conscience.*

Attourney. Read *Coplies* Confession the 8th of *June*, he saith, *He was offered 1000 Crowns to be in this Action.*

Here *Watson's* Additions were read.

"The great Mass of Money from
"the Count was impossible, saith
Brook, &c.

Brook's Confession read.

"There have Letters passed, saith
"he, between *Cobham* and *Aremberg*, for
"a great Sum of Money, to assist a se-
"cond Action, for the surprising of his
Majesty.

At-

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Attourney. It is not possible it was of Passion; for it was in talk before three Men being severally examined, who agreed in the Sum to be bestowed on discontented Persons. That *Grey* should have 12000 Crowns, and *Raleigh* should have 8000, or 10000 Crowns.

Cobham's Examination, July 18.

“ If the Money might be procured
“ (saith he) then a Man may give Pen-
“ sions. Being asked if a Pension should
“ not be given to his Brother *Brook*, he
“ denied it not.

Lawrency's Examination.

“ Within five days after *Aremberg* ar-
“ rived, *Cobham* resorted unto him.
“ That Night that *Cobham* went to *A-*
“ *remberg* with *Lawrency*, *Raleigh* supped
“ with him.

Attourney. *Raleigh* must have his part
of the Money, therefore now he is a
Tray-

Traytor. The Crown shall never stand one Year on the Head of the King (my Master) if a Traytor may not be condemned by Circumstances: For if A. tells B. and B. tells C. and C. D. &c. you shall never prove Treason by two Witnesses.

Raleigh's Examination was read.

He confesseth *Cobham* offered him 8000 Crowns, which he was to have for the furtherance of the Peace between *England* and *Spain*; and that he should have it within three days. To which, he said, he gave this Answer, When I see the Money I will tell you more; for I had thought it had been one of his ordinary idle Conceits, and therefore made no accompt thereof.

Raleigh. The *Attourney* hath made a long Narration of *Copley*, and the Priests, which concerns me nothing, neither know I how *Cobham* was alter'd.

For

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For he told me, if I would agree to further the Peace, he would get me 8000 Crowns. I asked him, Who shall have the rest of the Money? He said, I will offer such a Noble-Man (who was not named) some of the Money. I said, he will not be perswaded by you, and he will extreemly hate you for such a Motion. Let me be pinched to Death with hot Irons, if ever I knew there was any Intention to bestow the Money on discontented Persons. I had made a Discourse against the Peace, and would have printed it: If *Cobham* changed his mind; if the Priests, if *Brook* had any such intent, what is that to me? They must answer for it. He offered me the Money before *Aremberg* came, that is difference of time.

Serjeant Philips. *Raleigh* confesseth the Matter, but avoideth it by distinguishing of Times. You said it was
offer'd

Sir Walter Raleigh. 125

offered you before the coming of *Aremberg*; which is false. For you being examined whether you should have such Money of *Cobham*, or not: You said yea, and that you should have it within two or three days. *Nemo moriturus presumitur mentiri.*

Lord Hen. How. Alledg me any Ground or Cause, wherefore you gave ear to my Lord *Cobham* for receiving Pensions, in Matters you had not to deal with.

Raleigh. Could I stop my Lord *Cobham's* Mouth?

Lord Cecil. Sir Walter Raleigh presseth, that my Lord *Cobham* should be brought face to face. If he ask things of Favour and Grace, they must come only from him that can give them. If we sit here as Commissioners, how shall we be satisfied whether he ought to be brought, unless we hear the Judges speak.

Lord

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Lord Chief Justice. This thing cannot be granted, for then a number of Treasons should flourish: The Accuser may be drawn by Practice, whilst he is in Person.

Judge Gawdy. The Statute you speak of, concerning two Witnesses in case of Treason is found to be inconvenient, therefore by another Law it was taken away.

Raleigh. The common Trial of *England* is by Jury and Witnesses.

Lord Chief Justice. No, by Examination: If three conspire a Treason, and they all confess it; here is never a Witness, yet they are condemned.

Judge Warburton. I marvel, Sir *Walter*, that you being of such Experience and Wit, should stand on this Point; for so many Horse-stealers may escape, if they may not be condemned without Witnesses. If one should rush into the
King's

Sir *Walter Raleigh*. 127

King's Privy-Chamber, whilst he is alone, and kill the King (which God forbid) and this Man be met coming with his Sword drawn all bloody; shall not he be condemned to Death? My Lord *Cobham* hath, perhaps, been laboured withal; and to save you, his old Friend, it may be that he vvill deny all that vvwhich he hath said.

Raleigh. I know not how you conceive the Law.

Lord Chief Justice. Nay, vve do not conceive the Law, but we know the Law.

Raleigh. The Wisdom of the Law of God is absolute and perfect, *Hæc fac, & vives, &c.* But now by the Wisdom of the State, the Wisdom of the Law is uncertain. Indeed where the Accuser is not to be had conveniently, I agree with you; but here my Accuser may, he is alive, and in the House.

Susan-

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Susanna had been condemned, if *Daniel* had not cried out: *Will you condemn an innocent Israelite, without Examination or Knowledge of the Truth?* Remember, it is absolutely the Commandment of God: If a false Witness rise up, you shall cause him to be brought before the Judges; if he be found false, he shall have the Punishment which the Accused should have had. It is very sure for my Lord to accuse me is my certain Danger, and it may be a means to excuse himself.

Lord Chief Justice. There must not such a Gap be opened for the Destruction of the King, as would be if we should grant this. You plead hard for your self, but the Laws plead as hard for the thing. I did never hear that Course to be taken in a Case of Treason, as to write one to another, or speak one to another during the time of their Imprisonment. There
hath

hath been Intelligence between you, and what underhand Practices there may be, I know not. If the Circumstances agree not with the Evidence, we will not condemn you.

Raleigh. The King desires nothing but the knowledge of the Truth, and would have no advantage taken by Severity of the Law. If ever we had a Gracious King, now we have; I hope, as he is, such are his Ministers. If there be but a Trial of five Marks at common Law, a Witness must be deposed. Good my Lords, let my Accuser come face to face, and be deposed.

Lord Chief Justice. You have no Law for it: God forbid any Man should accuse himself upon his Oath.

Attourney. The Law presumes, a Man will not accuse himself to accuse another. You are an odious Man: For *Cobham* thinks his Cause the worse
I that

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that you are in it. Now you shall
hear of some Stirs to be raised in
Scotland.

Part of Coplies Examination.

“Also *Watson* told me, that a special
“Person told him, that *Aremberg* offer’d
“to him a thousand Crowns to be in
“that Action; and that *Brook* said, the
“Stirs in Scotland came out of *Raleigh’s*
“Head.

Raleigh. *Brook* hath been taught his
Lesson.

Lord H. How. This Examination
was taken before me; Did I teach him
his Lesson?

Raleigh. I protest before God,
meant it not by any Privy Counsellor
but because Money is scant, he will
juggle on both sides.

Raleigh?

Raleigh's Examination.

"The way to invade *England*, were to begin with *Stirs* in *Scotland*.

Raleigh. I think so still: I have spoken it to divers of the Lords of the Council, by way of Discourse and Opinion.

Attourney. Now let us come to those words of *Destroying the King and his Cubs*.

Raleigh. O barbarous! if they, like unnatural Villains, should use those words, shall I be charged with them? will not hear it, I was never any Plotter with them against my Country, I was never false to the Crown of *England*. I have spent 4000 Pounds of my own against the *Spanish* Faction, for the Good of my Country. Do you bring the words of these *Hellish* Spiders, *Clark*, *Watson*, and others against me?

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Attourney. Thou hast a Spanish Heart, and thy self art a Spider of Hell; for thou confessest the King to be a most Sweet and Gracious Prince, and yet hast conspired against him.

Watson's Examination read.

'He said, that *George Brook* told
'him twice, That his Brother, the
'*Lord Cobham*, said to him, that you
'are but on the Bye, but *Raleigh* and I
'are on the Main.

Brook's Examination read.

'Being askt what was meant by this
'*Jargon* the Bye and the Main? he said
'That the *Lord Cobham* told him, that
'*Grey* and others were in the Bye, he
'and *Raleigh* were on the Main. Be
'ing askt what Exposition his Brother
'made of these Words? he said, he i
'lot

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‘loth to repeat it. And after saith,
‘by the Main was meant the taking a-
‘way of the King and his Issue; and
‘thinks on his Conscience, it was
‘infused into his Brother’s Head
by *Raleigh.*

Cobham’s Examination read.

‘Being askt, if ever he had said, It
‘will never be well in England, till the
‘King and his Cubs were taken away. He
‘said, he had answered before, and
‘that he would answer no more to that
‘Point.

Raleigh. I am not named in all this :
There is a Law of two sorts of Accu-
sers, one of his own Knowledg, another
by Hear-say.

Earl of Suffolk. See the Case of *Ar-
nold.*

Lord Chief Justice. It is the Case of
Sir Will. Thomas, and *Sir Nicholas Arnold.*

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Raleigh. If this may be, you will have any Mans Life in a Week.

Attourney. *Raleigh* saith, that *Cobham* was in a Passion when he said so. Would he tell his Brother any thing of Malice against *Raleigh*, whom he lov'd as his Life.

Raleigh. *Brook* never loved me ; until his Brother had accused me, he said nothing.

Lord Cecil. We have heard nothing that might lead us to think that *Brook* accused you, he was only in the Surprising Treason ; for by accusing you he should accuse his Brother.

Raleigh. He doth not care much for that.

Lord Cecil. I must judg the best. The Accusation of his Brother was not Voluntary ; he pared every thing as much as he could, to save his Brother.

Cob-

Cobham's Examination read.

'He saith he had a Book written against the Title of the King, which he had of Raleigh, and that he gave it to his Brother Brook: and Raleigh said it was foolishly written.

Attorney. After the King came within twelve miles of London, Cobham never came to see him; and intended to travel without seeing the Queen and the Prince. Now in this Discontentment you gave him the Book, and he gave it his Brother.

Raleigh. I never gave it him, he took it off my Table. For I well remember a little before that time I received a Challenge from Sir Amias Preston, and for that I did intend to answer it, I resolved to leave my Estate settled, therefore laid out all my loose Papers, amongst which was this Book.

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Lord Howard. Where had you this Book ?

Raleigh. In the old Lord Treasurers Study, after his Death.

Lord Cecil. Did you ever shew or make known the Book to me.

Raleigh. No, my Lord.

Lord Cecil. My Father being employed in the Affairs of State at that time, it was like enough, he had many Books and Papers written against the then Queen and State, which might come to his hands by the Discovery of such Offences.

Attourney. I observe there was Intelligence between you and *Cobham* in the Tower ; for after he said, it vvas against the King's Title, he denied it again.

Sir William Wade. First my Lord *Cobham* confesseth it, and after he had subscribed it, he revoked it again : To me he always said, that the Drift
of

Sir Walter Raleigh. 137

of it was against the King's Title.

Raleigh. I protest before God, and
all his Works, I gave him not the
Book.

Nota. Sir Robert Wroth *speaketh, or
whispereth something secretly.*

Attourney. My Lords, I must com-
plain of Sir Robert Wroth, he sayes this
Evidence is not material.

Sir Robert Wroth. I never spake the
vvords.

Attourney. Let Mr. Serjeant Philips testi-
fie, vvwhether he heard him say the
Words or no.

Lord Cecil. I will give my Word for
Sir Robert Wroth.

Sir Robert Wroth. I vvill speak as tru-
ly as you, Mr. Attourney, for by God,
I never spake it.

Lord Chief Justice. Wherefore should
this Book be burnt?

Raleigh. I burned it not.

Serjeant Philips. You presented your
Friend

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Friend with it, when he was discontented. If it had been before the Queens Death it had been a less matter ; but you gave it him presently when he came from the King , which was the time of his Discontentment.

Raleigh. Here is a Book supposed to be Treasonable ; I never read it, commended it, or delivered it, nor urged it.

Attourney. Why this is cunning.

Raleigh. Every thing that doth make for me is cunning, and every thing that maketh against me is probable.

Attourney. Lord Cobham saith, that Kemish came to him with a Letter torn, and did wish him not to be dismaid, for one Witness could not hurt him.

Raleigh. This poor Man hath been close Prisoner these eighteen Weeks ; he was offered the Rack to make him confess. I never sent any such Message
by

Sir **Walter Raleigh.** 139

by him, I only writ to him, to tell him what I had done with Mr. *Attourney*; having of his at that time a great Pearl and a Diamond.

Lord H. Howard. No Circumstance moveth me more than this. *Kemish* was never on the Rack, the King gave charge that no Rigour should be used.

Commissioners. We protest before God, there was no such matter intended to our knowledges.

Raleigh. Was not the Keeper of the Rack sent for, and he threatned with it?

Sir William Wade. When Mr. Sollicitor and my self examined *Kemish*, we told him he deserved the Rack, but did not threaten him with it.

Commissioners. It was more than we knew.

Cob-

Cobham's Examination read.

‘He saith, *Kemish* brought him a
 ‘Letter from *Raleigh*, and that part
 ‘which was concerning the Lords of
 ‘the Council was rent out; the Let-
 ‘ter contained, that he was examined
 ‘and cleared himself of all; and that
 ‘the Lord *H. Howard* said, because he
 ‘was discontent, he was fit to be in the
 ‘Action. And further, that *Kemish*
 ‘said to him from *Raleigh*, that he
 ‘should be of good Comfort, for one
 ‘Witness could not condemn a Man
 ‘for Treason.

Lord Cecil. *Cobham* was ask’d, whether,
 and when he heard from you? he said,
Every Day.

Raleigh. *Kemish* added more, I never
 bad him speak those Words.

Nota. *Mr. Attourney* here offered to
 interrupt him.

Lord

Sir **Walter Raleigh.** 141

Lord Cecil. It is his last Discourse.
Give him leave Mr. *Attourney*.

Raleigh. I am accused concerning
Arabella, concerning Money out of
Spain. My Lord Chief Justice saith,
a Man may be condemned with one
Witness, yea, without any Witness.
Cobham is guilty of many things, *Con-*
scientia mille Testes; he hath accused
himself, what can he hope for but
Mercy? My Lords vouchsafe me this
Grace. Let him be brought, being a-
live, and in the House; let him avouch
any of these things, I will confess the
whole Indictment, and renounce the
King's Mercy.

Lord Cecil. Here hath been a touch
of the Lady *Arabella Stuart*, a near
Kinswoman of the Kings. Let us not
scandal the innocent by confusion of
Speech: She is as innocent of all these
things as I, or any Man here; only she
received a Letter from my Lord *Cob-*
ham,

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ham, to prepare her; which she laught at, and immediately sent it to the King. So far was she from Discontentment that she laught him to scorn. But you see how far the Count of *Aremberg* did consent.

The Lord Admiral (Nottingham) being by in a Standing, with the Lady Arabella, spake to the Court.

The Lady doth here protest upon her Salvation, that she never dealt in any of these things; and so she willed me to tell the Court.

Lord Cecil. The Lord *Cobham* wrote to my Lady *Arabella*, to know if he might come to speak with her, and gave her to understand, that there were some about the King, that laboured to disgrace her; she doubted it was but a Trick. But *Brook* saith, his Brother moved him to procure *Arabella* to write Letters to the King of *Spain*; but he saith, he never did it.

Sir **Walter Raleigh.** 143

Raleigh. The Lord Cobham hath accused me, you see in what maner he hath forsworn it. Were it not for his Accusation, all this were nothing. Let him be asked, if I knew of the Letter which *Lawrency* brought to him from *Aremberg*. Let me speak for my Life, it can be no hurt for him to be brought; he dares not accuse me. If you grant me not this Favour, I am strangely used. *Campion* was not denied to have his Accusers face to face.

Lord Chief Justice. Since he must needs have Justice, the Acquitting of his old Friend may move him to speak otherwise than the Truth.

Raleigh. If I had been the Infuser of all these Treasons into him. You Gentlemen of the Jury, mark this, he said I have been the Cause of all his Miseries, and the Destruction of his House, and that all Evil hath happened unto him

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him, by my wicked counsel. If this be true, whom hath he cause to accuse, and to be revenged on, but on me? And I know him to be as revengefull as any Man on Earth.

Attourney. He is a Party, and may not come; the Law is against it.

Raleigh. It is a Toy to tell me of Law. I defy such Law, I stand on the Fact.

Lord Cecil. I am afraid my often speaking (who am inferiour to my Lords here present) will make the World think I delight to hear my self talk. My Affection to you, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, was not extinguished, but slaked, in regard of your deserts. You know the Law of the Realm (to which your Mind doth not contest) that my Lord *Cobham* cannot be brought.

Raleigh. He may be, my Lord.

K. Cecil. But dare you challenge it?

Raleigh. No.

Lord

Sir *Walter Raleigh*. 145

L. Cecil. You say that my Lord *Cobham*, your main Accuser, must come to accule you. You say, he hath retracted; I say, many particulars are not retracted. What the Validity of all this is, is meerly left to the Jury. Let me ask you this, If my Lord *Cobham* will lay you were the only Instigator of him to proceed in the Treasons, dare you put your self on this?

Raleigh. If he will speak it before God and the King, that ever I knew of *Arabella's* Matter, or the Money out of *Spain*, or of the surprising Treason; I put my self on it. God's Will and the King's be done with me.

Lord H. Howard. How if he speak things equivalent to that you have said.

Raleigh. Yes, in a main Point.

Lord Cecil. If he say, you have been the Instigator of him to deal with the *Spanish* King, had not the Council

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cil cause to draw you hither ?

Raleigh. I put my self on it.

Lord Cecil. Then Sir *Walter Raleigh*,
call upon God, and prepare your self
for I do verily believe my Lords will
prove this. Excepting your faults (I
call them no worse) by God, I am your
Friend. The Heat and Passion in you,
and the Attourney's Zeal in the King's
Service makes me speak this.

Raleigh. Whosoever is the Workman
it is reason he should give account of
his Work to the Work-master. But let
it be proved that he acquainted me with
any of his Conferences with *Aremberg*,
he would surely have given me some
account.

L. Cecil. That follows not. If I see
you on work, and you give me no ac-
count am I therefore innocent ?

Attourney. For the Lady *Arabella*,
said she was never acquainted with the
matter. Now that *Raleigh* had Confe-

renc

Sir Walter Raleigh. 147

rence in all these Treasons, it is manifest; The Jury hath heard the matter. There is one Dyer, a Pilot, that being in Lisbon, met with a Portugal Gentleman, who ask'd him if the King of England was crown'd yet? To whom he answered, *I think not yet, but he shall be shortly.* Nay, saith the Portugal, that shall never be, for his Throat will be cut by Don Raleigh and Don Cobham before he be crowned.

Dyer was called and sworn, and delivered this Evidence.

Dyer. *I came to a Merchants House in Lisbon, to see a Boy that I had there; there came a Gentleman into the House, and enquiring what Countryman I was? I said, an Englishman. Whereupon he asked me, if the King was crowned? And I answered, No, but that I hoped he should be so shortly. Nay, saith he, he shall never be crowned; for Don Raleigh and Don Cobham will cut his Throat ere that day come.*

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Raleigh. What infer you upon this?
Attourney, That your Treason hath
wings.

Raleigh. If Cobham did practice with
Aremberg, how could it not but be
known in Spain? Why did they name
the Duke of Buckingham with Jack
Straw's Treason, and the Duke of York
with Jack Cade, but that it was to
countenance his Treason?

Consider you Gentlemen of the Ju-
ry, there is no Cause so doubtful, which
the Kings Counsell cannot make good
against the Law. Consider my Disa-
bility, and their Ability: They prove
nothing against me, only they bring
the Accusation of my Lord Cobham,
which he hath lamented and repented
as heartily, as if it had been for an hor-
rible Murther: for he knew that all
this Sorrow which should come to me
is by his means. Presumptions must
proceed from precedent or subsequent

Facts

Facts. I have spent 40000 Crowns against the Spaniard. I had not purchased 40 Pound a Year. If I had died in Guiana, I had not left 300 Marks a Year to my Wife and Son. I that have always condemned the Spanish Faction, methinks it is a strange thing that now I should affect it! Remember what St. Austin says, *Sic judicate tanquam ab alio mox judicandi; unus Judex, unum Tribunal.* If you would be contented on Presumptions to be delivered up to be slaughtered, to have your Wives and Children turned into the Streets to beg their Bread; If you would be contented to be so judged, judg so of me.

Serj. Philips. I hope to make this so clear, as that the Wit of Man shall have no Colour to answer it. The Matter is Treason in the highest Degree, the end to deprive the King of his Crown. The particular Treasons are these: First, To raise up Rebellion,

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and, to effect that, to procure Money ; to raise up Tumults in *Scotland*, by divulging a Treasonable Book against the Kings Right to the Crown ; the Purpose, to take away the Life of his Majesty and his Issue. My Lord *Cobham* confesseth Sir *Walter Raleigh* to be guilty of all these Treasons. The Question is, Whether he be guilty as joyning with him, or instigating of him? The Course to prove this was by my Lord *Cobham's* Accusation. If that be true, he is guilty ; if not, he is clear. So whether *Cobham* say true, or *Raleigh* ? That is the Question. *Raleigh* hath no Answer, but the Shadow of as much Wit, as the Wit of Man can devise. He useth his bare Denial; the Denial of a Defendant must not move the Jury. In the Star-Chamber, or in the Chancery, for matter of Title, if the Defendant be called in Question, his Denial on his Oath is no Evidence

vidence to the Court to clear him, he doth it in *propria causa*; therefore much less in Matters of Treason. Cobham's Testification against him before then, and since, hath been largely discoursed.

Raleigh. If Truth be constant, and Constancy be in Truth, why hath he forsworn that that he hath said? You have not proved any one thing against me by direct Proofs, but all by Circumstances.

Attourney. Have you done? The King must have the last.

Raleigh. Nay, Mr. Attourney, he which speaketh for his Life, must speak last. False Repetitions and Mistakings must not mar my Cause. You should speak *secundum allegata & probata*. I appeal to God and the King in this Point, whether Cobham's Accusation be sufficient to condemn me?

Attourney. The Kings Safety and
K 4 your

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your Clearing cannot agree. I protest before God, I never knew a clearer Treason.

Raleigh. I never had Intelligence with *Cobham* since I came to the Tower.

Attourney. Go too, I will lay thee upon thy Back, for the confidentest Traytor that ever came at a Bar. Why should you take 8000 Crowns for a Peace?

Lord Cecil. Be not so impatient, good Mr. *Attourney*, give him leave to speak.

Attourney. If I may not be patiently heard, you will encourage Traytors, and discourage us. I am the King's sworn Servant, and must speak: If he be guilty, he is a Traytor; if not deliver him.

Nota. Here Mr. *Attourney* sat down in a Chaise, and would speak no more, until

Sir Walter Raleigh. 153

til the Commissioners urged and intreated him. After much ado he went on, and made a long Repetition of all the Evidence, for the direction of the Jury; and at the repeating of some things Sir Walter Raleigh interrupted him, and said, He did him wrong.

Attourney. Thou art the most vile and execrable Traytor that ever lived.

Raleigh. You speak indiscreetly, barbarously and uncivilly.

Attourney. I want words sufficient to expresse thy viperous Treasons.

Raleigh. I think you want words indeed, for you have spoken one thing half a dozen times.

Attourney. Thou art an odious Fellow, thy Name is hateful to all the Realm of England for thy Pride.

Raleigh. It will go near to prove a measuring Cast between you and me, Mr. *Attourney.*

Attour-

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Attourney. Well, I will now make it appear to the World, that there never lived a viler Viper upon the face of the Earth than thou, and therewithal he drew a Letter out of his Pocket, saying further, My Lords, you shall see, this is an Agent that hath writ a Treasurise against the *Spaniard*, and hath ever so detested him; this is he that hath spent so much Money against him in Service; and yet you shall all see whether his Heart be not wholly *Spanish*. The Lord *Cobham*, who of his own nature was a good and honourable Gentleman, till overtaken by this Wretch, now finding his Conscience heavily burthened with some Courses which the Subtilty of this Traytor had drawn him into, my Lords, he could be at no rest with himself, nor quiet in his thoughts, until he was eased of that heavy weight; out of which Passion of his Mind, and Discharge of his Duty

to

Sir Walter Raleigh. 155

to his Prince, and his Conscience to God; taking it upon his Salvation that he wrote nothing but the Truth, with his own hands he wrote this Letter. Now Sir you shall see whether you had Intelligence with Cobham, within four days before he came to the Tower. If he be wholly Spanish, that desired a Pension of 1500 Pound a Year from Spain, that Spain by him might have Intelligence, then Raleigh is a Traytor. He hath taken an Apple, and pinned a Letter unto it, and threw it into my Lord Cobham's Window; the Contents whereof were this, *It is doubtful, whether we shall be proceeded with or no, perhaps you shall not be tried.* This was to get a Retraction. Oh! it was Adam's Apple, whereby the Devil did deceive him. Further, he wrote thus, *Do not as my Lord of Essex did; take heed of a Preacher; for by his Perswasion he confessed, and made himself guilty.* I doubt
not

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not but this day God shall have as great a Conquest by this Traytor, and the Son of God shall be as much glorified, as when it was said, *Vicisti Galilæe*; you know my meaning. What though Cobham retracted, yet he could not rest nor sleep till he confirmed it again. If this be not enough to prove him a Traytor, the King my Master shall not live three years to an end.

Nota. Here Mr. Attourney produced the Lord Cobham's Letter, and as he read it, inserted some speeches.

I have thought fit to set down this to my Lords, wherein I protest on my Soul to write nothing but the truth. I am now come near the period of my time, therefore I confels the whole Truth before God, and his Angels. Raleigh, four days before I came from the Tower cauled an Apple (*Eves Apple*) to be thrown in at my Chamber-Window; the effect of it was to intreat me

me to right the wrong that I had done him, in saying, that I should have come home by Jersey; which under my hand to him I have retracted. His first Letter I answered not, which was thrown in the same manner, wherein he prayed me to write him a Letter, which I did. He sent me word that the Judges met at Mr. Attourneys House, and that there was good hope the Proceedings against us should be stayed; He sent me another time a little Tobacco. At Aremburg's coming Raleigh was to have procured a Pension of fifteen hundred Pounds a Year; for which he promised that no Action should be against Spain, the Low-Countries, or the Indies, but he would give knowledg before-hand. He told me the States had Audience with the King. (*Attourney. Ah! is not this a Spanish Heart in an English Body?*) He hath been the Original Cause of my Ruine; for I had no deal-

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‘dealing with *Aremberg*, but by his institution. He hath also been the cause of my Discontentment; he advised me, not to be overtaken with Preachers, as *Essex* was; and that the King would better allow of a constant Denial, than to accuse any.

Attourney. Oh damnable Atheist! he hath learned some Text of Scripture to serve his own purpose, but falsely alledged. He counsels him not to be counselled by Preachers, as *Essex* was: He died the Child of God, God honoured him at his death; thou wast by when he died. *Et Lupus & Turpes instant morientibus Urse.* He died indeed for his Offence. The King himself spake these words; *He that shall say Essex died not for Treason is punishable.*

Raleigh. You have heard a strange Tale of a strange Man. Now he thinks, he hath matter enough to destroy me; but the King, and all of you shall witness,

Sir Walter Raleigh. 159

ness by our Deaths, which of us was the Ruine of the other. I bid a poor Fellow throw in the Letter at his Window, written to this purpose, *You know you have undone me, now write three Lines to justify me.* In this I will die, that he hath done me wrong: Why did not he acquaint me with his Treasons, if I acquainted him with my Dispositions?

Lord Chief Justice. But what say you now of the rest of the Letter, and the Pension of 1500 l. per annum?

Raleigh. I say that *Cobham* is a base, dishonourable poor Soul.

Attourney. Is he base? I return it into thy Throat, on his behalf: But for thee, he had been a good Subject.

Lord Chief Justice. I perceive you are not so clear a Man, as you have protested all this while; for you should have discovered these Matters to the King.

Nota.

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Nota. Here Raleigh pulled a Letter out of his Pocket, which the Lord Cobham had written to him, and desired my Lord Cecil to read it, because he only knew his hand; the Effect of it was as followeth,

Cobham's Letter of Justification
to Raleigh.

' Seeing my self so near my End,
' for the discharge of my own Conscience; and freeing my self from your
' Blood, which else will cry Vengeance
' against me: I protest upon my Salvation, I never practised with Spain
' by your procurement; God so comfort me in this my Affliction, as you
' are a true Subject, for any thing
' that I know. I will say as Daniel,
' *Purus sum a sanguine hujus.* So God
' have mery on my Soul, as I know no
' Treason by you.

Raleigh. Now I wonder how many
Souls

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Souls this Man hath! he damns one
in this Letter, and another in that.

*Here was much ado, Mr. Attourney
alleged that his last Letter was poli-
tically and cunningly urged from the
Lord Cobham, and that the first was
simply the Truth; and that lest it
should seem doubtful that the first Let-
ter was drawn from my Lord Cob-
ham by promise of mercy, or hope of
favour, the Lord Chief Justice wil-
led that the Jury might herein be sa-
tisfied.*

*Whereupon the Earl of Devonshire de-
livered that the same was meer volun-
tary, and not extracted from the Lord
Cobham upon any hopes or promise
of Pardon.*

*Nota. This was the last Evidence: where-
upon a Marshal was sworn to keep the
Jury private. The Jury departed, and
L staid*

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staid not a quarter of an hour, but returned, and gave their Verdict, Guilty.

Serj. Heale demanded Judgment against the Prisoner.

Clerk of the Crown. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Thou hast been indicted, arraigned, and pleaded not guilty, for all these several Treasons, and for tryal thereof hast put thy self upon thy Country; which Country are these, who have found thee guilty. What canst thou say for thy self, why Judgment and Execution of Death should not pass against thee?

Raleigh. My Lords, the Jury have found me Guilty. They must do as they are directed. I can say nothing why Judgment should not proceed. You see whereof *Cobham* hath accused me. You remember his Protestations, that I was never guilty. I desire the King should know of the Wrongs done unto

Sir Walter Raleigh. 163

unto me since I came hither.

Lord Chief Justice. You have had no wrong, Sir *Walter*.

Raleigh. Yes, of Mr. *Attourney*. I desire my Lords to remember three things to the King. 1. I was accused to be a Practiser with *Spain*. I never knew that my Lord *Cobham* meant to go thither; I will ask no mercy at the Kings hands if he will affirm it. 2. I never knew of the practice with *Arabella*. 3. I never knew of my Lord *Cobhams* practice with *Aremberg*, nor of the surprising *Treason*.

Lord Ch. Justice. In my Conscience I am perswaded that *Cobham* hath accused you truly. You cannot deny but that you were dealt with to have a Pension to be a Spy for *Spain*; therefore you are not so true to the King as you have protested your self to be.

Raleigh. I submit my self to the King's Mercy; I know his Mercy is

L 2

greater

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greater than my Offence. I recommend my Wife, and Son of tender years, unbrought up, to his Compassion.

Lord Chief Justice. I had thought I should never have seen this Day, to have stood in this place to give Sentence of Death against you; because I thought it impossible, that one of so great Parts should have fallen so grievously. God hath bestowed on you many Benefits. You had been a Man fit and able to have served the King in good Place. You had brought your self into a good State of Living, if you had entred into a good Consideration of your Estate, and not suffered your own Wit to have intrapped your self, you might have lived in good comfort. It is best for Man not to seek to climb too high, lest he fall; nor yet to creep too low, lest he be trodden on. It was the Posie of the wisest and greatest Counsellor of our time in Eng-
land

land, In medio spatio mediocria firma locantur.

You might have lived well with 3000 Pound a Year, for so I have heard your Revenues to be. I know nothing might move you to be discontented; but if you had been down, you know Fortunes Wheel, when it is turned about, riseth again. I never heard that the King took away any thing from you, but the Captainship of the Guard, which he did with very good Reason, to have one of his own knowledg, whom he might trust, in that Place. You have been taken for a wise Man, and so have shewed Wit enough this Day. Again, for Monopolies for Wine, &c. If the King had said, it is a Matter that offends my People, should I burthen them for your private Good? I think you could not well take it hardly, that his Subjects were eased, though by your private hindrance. Two Vices have lodged chiefly in you; one is

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an eager Ambition, the other corrupt Covetousness. Ambition, in desiring to be advanced to equal Grace and Favour, as you have been before-time; that Grace you had then you got not in a Day or Year. For your Covetousness, I am sorry to hear that a Gentleman of your Wealth should become a base Spie for the Enemy, which is the vilest of all other; wherein on my Conscience *Cobham* hath said true: by it you would have increased your Living 1500 Pound a Year. This Covetousness is like a Canker, that eats the Iron Place where it lives. Your Case being thus, let it not grieve you, if I speak a little out of zeal, and love to your good. You have been taxed by the World, with the Defence of the most Heathenish and Blasphemous Opinions, which I list not to repeat, because Christian Ears cannot endure to hear them, nor the Authors and Maintainers

tainers of them suffered to live in any Christian Common-wealth. You know what Men said of *Harpool*. You shall do well before you go out of the World to give satisfaction therein, and not to die with these Imputations on you. Let not any Devil perswade you to think there is no Eternity in Heaven: for if you think thus, you shall find Eternity in Hell-Fire. In the first Accusation of my Lord *Cobham*, I observed his manner of speaking; I protest before the Living God, I am perswaded he spoke nothing but the Truth. You wrote, that he should not in any case confess any thing to a Preacher, telling him an Example of my Lord of *Essex*, that noble Earl that is gone; who if he had not been carried away with others, had lived in Honour to this Day among us. He confessed his Offences, and obtained Mercy of the Lord, for I am verily perswaded in my
L 4 Heart,

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Heart, he died a worthy Servant of God. Your Conceit of not confessing any thing is very inhumane and wicked. In this World is the time of Confessing, that we may be absolved at the Day of Judgment. You have shewed a fearful Sign of denying God, in advising a Man not to confess the Truth. It now comes in my mind, why you may not have your Accuser come face to face : for such an one is easily brought to retract, when he seeth there is no hope of his own Life. It is dangerous that any Traytors should have any Access to, or Conference with one another ; when they see themselves must die, they will think it best to have their Fellow live, that he may commit the like Treason again, and so in some sort seek Revenge.

Now it resteth to pronounce the Judgment, which I wish you had not been this day to have received of me :

For

Sir Walter Raleigh. 169

For if the Fear of God in you had been answerable to your other great Parts, you might have lived to have been a singular good Subject. I never saw the like Trial, and hope I shall never see the like again.

The Judgment.

But since you have been found guilty of these horrible Treasons, the Judgment of this Court is, That you shall be had from hence to the Place whence you came, there to remain until the Day of Execution; and from thence you shall be drawn upon a Hurdle through the open Streets to the Place of Execution, there to be hanged and cut down alive, and your Body shall be opened, your Heart and Bowels pluckt out, and your Privy Members cut off, and thrown into the Fire before your Eyes; then your
Head

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Head to be struckeu off from your Body, and your Body shall be divided into four Quarters, to be disposed of at the King's Pleasure: And

God have Mercy upon your Soul.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* besought the Earl of *Devonshire*, and the Lords, to be Suiters on his behalf to the King; that in regard of Places of Estimation he did bear in his Majesties time, the Rigour of his Judgment might be qualified, and his Death honourable, and not ignominious.

Wherein after they had promised him to do their utmost Endeavours, the Court rose, and the Prisoner was carried up again to the Castle.

Here

*Here follows the Continuation
of the Life.*

IT was observed, that before the Lords (principally to my Lord Cecil) at *Winchester* (for there he was tried, the Sickness then reigning in *London*) he was humble, but not prostrate; dutiful, but not deject: For in some cases he would humbly thank them for gracious Speeches; in other acknowledge that their Honours said true, as in relating some Circumstances. And in such points wherein he would not yield unto them, he would crave pardon, and with reverence urge them, and answer them as in points of Law, or essential matters of Fact. To the Jury he was affable, but not fawning; hoping, but not trusting in them; care-

carefully perswading them with Reason, not distemperately importuning them with Conjurat[i]on; rather shewing love of Life, than fear of Death. What made ill for Sir *Walter* was his Discovery of *Lawrency* and *Cobham's* frequent private Conferences; which so incensed *Cobham*, that he positively accused him: though the single Evidence of one already convicted of what Sir *Walter* was but yet impeached, could only make a Circumstance, and not convict him. The Judges and the King's Counsel did vvhhat they could to bawl him out of his Life; and since they vvanted Proof, they would endeavour to tire him out. If we may believe *Osborn*, several of the Jurymen, after he was cast, vv ere so far touch'd in Conscience as to ask of him pardon on their knees.

A further Confirmation of his Innocency may be a Passage of his ovvn in

a

Letter to Secretary *Winwood*, wherein
e tells him, ' That the worthy Prince
of *Wales* was extream curious in
searching out the nature of his Offen-
ces.' The Queens Majesty had in-
form'd her self from the beginning.
The King of *Denmark* at both times
of his being here, was throughly satis-
fied of his Innocency; they would o-
therwise never have moved his Ma-
jesty on his behalf. The Wife, the
Brother, and the Son of a King
do not use to sue for Men suspect.
Nay, further yet, the *Scots* themselves
declar'd in favour of him, if we may
believe him in another Letter of his to
Sir *Robert Car*, after Earl of *Somerset*,
wherein are these words: ' I have e-
' ver been bound to your Nation, as
' well for many other Graces, as for
' the true Report of my Trial to the
' King's Majesty, against whom had I
' been malignant, the hearing of my
' Cause

'Cause could not have changed Ene-
 'mies into Friends, Malice into Com-
 'passion, and the Minds of the greatest
 'number then present into Commise-
 'ration of mine Estate : It is not the
 'nature of foul Treason to beget such
 'fair Passions ; neither could it agree
 'with the duty and love of faithful Sub-
 'jects (especially of your Nation) to
 'bewail his Overthrow that had con-
 'spired against their most natural and
 'liberal Lord.

Two days after *Raleigh's* Tryal, were
 sentenced *Brook*, who pretended his
 intention was only to try faithful Sub-
 jects, and said he had a Commission
 for so doing, but produc'd it not ;
Markham, who confest the Indictment,
 pleaded Discontent, and desired Mer-
 cy ; *Watson*, who confest he drew them
 all in, holding the King to be no Sove-
 reign till he were crown'd, instancing
 in *Saul* and *Jeroboam* ; And *Clark*, who
 said

Sir Walter Raleigh. 175

said the like. *Parham* and *Brooksby* were acquitted by the Jury. *Watson*, *Clark*, and *Brook* were executed; *Markham*, *Cobham*, and *Grey* brought severally on the Scaffold to dye, and at the instant on the Block, had their particular Executions remitted, by a Letter to the Sheriff under the King's own Hand, without the knowledge of any, save Mr. *Gibbs*, Gentleman of the Bedchamber, that brought it. However an evil Fate did attend these Men; *Grey* died in the Tower, the last of his Line; the rest were discharg'd but died miserably poor: *Markham* and some others abroad; but *Cobham* (as *Osborn* tells us) in a Room ascended by a Ladder, at a poor Womans house in the *Minories* (formerly his Landress) died rather of hunger than a natural disease.

Sir *Walter* was left to his Majesties Mercy, who thought him too great a Male-

Male-content to have his Freedom and probably too Innocent to lose his Life. Therefore in the Tower he is confin'd, but permitted to enjoy *Libera Custodia*; where he improv'd his Imprisonment to the greatest advantage of Learning and Inquisitive Men. Since his Majesty had civilly buried him, and as it were banish'd him this World, he thought it no Treason to disturb the Ashes of former times, and bring to view the Actions of deceased Heroes. And certainly none was so fit to comment on their Achievements, and so able to raise excellent Maxims from them, as he who had been brought up in so wise a Court as Queen *Elizabeth's*, and read so many wise Men. After some time past there, he was delivered of that great *Minerva*, the *History of the World*; a Book which for the Exactness of its Chronology, Curiousness of its Con-
texture

texture and Learning of all Sorts, seems to be the Work of an Age. An History which never yet met with a Destructer, and was the Envy, if some Authors may be credited, of King *James* himself, who thought none could outdo him at the Pen. That a Man who had been the greatest part of his life taken up in Action, should write so judiciously, so critically of Times and Actions, is as great a Wonder as the Book itself. It still remains a Dispute whether the Age he lived in was more obliged to his Pen or his Sword, the one being busie in conquering the *New*, the other in so bravely describing the *Old* World. An History wherein the only fault, or defect rather, is, that it wanteth one half thereof; which was occasioned, as our Story tells us, thus: Some few days before he suffered, he sent for Mr. *Walter Burr*, who formerly printed his first Volumn of the History

M of

of the World, whom taking by the Hand, after some other Discourse, he ask'd how it had sold? Mr. Burr returned this Answer, *It sold so slowly that it had undone him.* At which words of his Sir Walter stepping to his Desk, reaches his other unprinted Part of his History, which he had brought down to the Times he lived in, and clapping his hand upon his breast, said with a sigh *Ab, my Friend, bath the first Part undone thee? the second Part shall undo no more this ungrateful World is unworthy of it* and immediately going to the Fire-side threw it in, and set his foot upon it till it was consumed. As great a loss to Learning as Christendom could have sustained; the greater, because it could be repaired by no hand but his. It often happening to Authors, as to great Masters in Painting, their Pieces are not valued till they are dead, and the succeeding Age find the Originals inimitable.

Whill

Sir *Walter Raleigh*. 179

Whilst Sir *Walter* was thus confined, Death took away his and *Effex's* mortal Enemy, Sir *Robert Cecil*, after Earl of *Salisbury*, who had purchased the monopoly of Favour, and being jealous of Sir *Walter's* Parts, had some fear he might supplant him; which was the Cause, according to *born*, that he was brought to the prementioned Tryal. However Sir *Walter* outlived his Enemies designs and hatred, and for all his kindneses showed upon him the following epitaph, which I am upon very good grounds assured to be his. King *Jes* was so much taken with the artness of it, that he hoped the Author would die before him. The Verse is these:

Here lies Hobinal, our Pastor while here
 That once in a quarter our fleeces did shear
 To please us, his Cur he kept under clogg,
 And was ever after both Shepherd and Dog
 For Oblation to Pan his Custom was thus,
 He first gave a trifle, then offer'd up us.
 And through his false Worship such pow'r
 did gain,
 As kept him 'oth Mountain, and us on the
 Plain:

Where many a Hornpipe he tun'd to
 Phillis,
 And sweetly sung Walsingham to's Am
 rillis ;
 Till Atropos clapt him, a Pox on t
 Drab,
 For spight of his Tarbox he dy'd of the Sc

If the Reader desires a Key to the
 Verses, he may meet with it in Osborn
 Memoirs, who yet for all his Intel
 gence hath not informed us, that
 Mistresses Name was Walsingham.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*. 181

Fourteen Years Sir *Walter* had spent in the *Tower*, and being weary of a state wherein he could be only serviceable by his Pen, but not in a capacity of serving and enriching his Country any other way, (Of whom Prince *Henry* would say, that no King but his Father would keep such a Bird in a Cage;) At length he fell upon an Enterprize of a Golden Mine in *Guiana* in the Southern Parts of *America*. The Proposition of this was presented and recommended to his Majesty by Sir *Ralph Winwood* the Secretary of State, as a Matter not in the Air, or Speculative, but Real, and of certainty: for that Sir *Walter* had seen of the Ore of the Mine, and tried the richness of it, having gotten a pound from thence by the hands of Captain *Kemish* his ancient Servant.

Sir *Ralph Winwood*'s Recommendations of the Design, and the earnest Sollicitations for his Enlargement of

the Queen, the Prince, and the *French* Lieger (with much affection to his Delerts, not without some Politick Designs on *Spain*) together with the Asseverations of Sir *Walter* of the Truth of the Mine, work'd upon his Majesty, who thought himself in Honour obliged, nay in a manner ingaged (as the Declaration which he published after the Death of Sir *Walter* tells us) not to deny unto his People the Adventure and Hope of so great Riches to be sought and atchieved at the Charge of Volunteers, especially since it stood so well with his Majesties Politick and Magnanimous Courses in these his flourishing Times of Peace, to nourish and encourage Noble and Generous Enterprizes for Plantations, Discoveries, and opening of a new Trade.

Count *Gondamor* (an active and subtile Instrument to serve his Master's ends)

euds) took Allarm at this, and represented to his Majesty the Enterprize of Sir *Walter* to be hostile, and predatory, intending a breach of the Peace between the two Crowns. But notwithstanding, Povver at last is granted to Sir *Walter* to set forth Ships and Men for that Service. However, the King commanded him upon pain of his Allegiance to give him under his Hand (promising on the Word of a King to keep it secret) the number of his Men, the burthen and strength of his Ships, together with the Country and River which he was to enter; vvhich being done accordingly by Sir *Walter*, that very Original Paper vvas found in the *Spanish* Governours Closet at *St. Thoma*. So active vvere the *Spanish* Ministers, that Advertisement vvas sent to *Spain*, and thence to the *Indies*, before the *English* Fleet got out of the *Thames*.

But as vve have just Cause to ad-

mire the more than usual Activity of the *Spanish* Agents, so may vve vvon-der no les at the Miscarriage of his Majesties present *Ministers*, vvho notwithstanding he had past his Royal Word to the contrary, yet they did help Count *Gondamor* to that very Paper; So much both King and Court vv ere at *Gondamor's* service.

A Commission indeed is granted, but by *Gondamor's* means is limited; that the Fleet should commit no Outrages upon the King of *Spain's* Subjects by Land, unless they began first; with other limitations in the Commission, vv hich for the Readers Curiosity and Satisfaction I have here inserted.

JAMES

JA M E S, by the Grace of
GOD, &c. To all to Whom
these Presents shall come, to
be read, heard, or seen, and to
every of them greeting: Where-
as Sir Walter Raleigh Knight,
intendeth to undertake a Voy-
age by Sea and Shipping, unto
the South parts of America, or
elsewhere within America, pos-
sessed and inhabited by Heathen
and Savage People; to the
end, to discover and find out
some Commodities and Mer-
chandizes in those Countries,
that be necessary and profitable
for the Subjects of these Our
Kingdoms and Dominions,
whereof the Inhabitants there
make little or no use or estima-
tion; Whereupon also may en-
sue

due by Trade and Commerce, some propagation of the Christian Faith, and reformed Religion amongst those Savage and Idolatrous people: And whereas We are credibly informed, that there are divers Merchants and Owners of Ships, and others, well disposed to assist the said Sir Walter Raleigh in this his Enterprize, had they sufficient Assurance to enjoy their due parts of the Profits returned (in respect of the Peril of Law wherein the said Sir Walter Raleigh now standeth :) And whereas also We are informed, that divers other Gentlemen, the Kinsmen & Friends of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and divers Captains and other Commanders, are also desirous to follow him, and to adven-
ture

their Lives With him in this his Journey, so as they might be commanded by no other than himself.

Know ye, that We, upon deliberate Consideration had of the Premisses, being desirous by all Ways and means to Work and procure the benefit and good of Our loving Subjects, and to give our Princely furtherance to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, his Friends and Associates herein, to the Incouragement of others in the like laudable Journeys and Enterprizes, to be hereafter prosecuted and pursued; and especially in advancement and furtherance, aswel of the Conversion of Savage People, as of the increase of Trade, Traffique, and Merchandizes used by Our Subjects
of

of this Our Kingdom, being most famous throughout all Nations: Of Our special Grace, certain knowledg, and meer motion, have giben and granted, and by these Presents for Us, Our heirs, and Successors, do give and grant unto the said Sir Walter Raleigh, full Power and Authority, and free Licence and Liberty out of this Our Realm of England, or any other Our Dominions, to have, carry, take, and lead, for and towards his said intended Voyage unto the said South parts, or other parts of America, (possessed and inhabited, as aforesaid) and to Travel thither, all such, and so many of Our loving Subjects, or any other Strangers that will become Our loving Subjects, and live under Our Obeysance and

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Sir Walter Raleigh. 189

Allegiance, as shall willingly accompany him, with sufficient Shipping, Armour, Weapons, Ordnance, Munition, Powder, Shot, Habillments, Victuals, and such Wares and Merchandizes, as are esteemed by the wild People in those parts, Clothing, Implements, Furniture, Cattel, Horses & Mares, and all other such things as he shall think most necessary for his Voyage, and for the use and defence of him and his Company, and trade with the People there; and in passing and returning to and fro, and in those parts, to give away, Sell, Barter, Exchange, or otherwise dispose of the same Goods, Merchandizes, and Premises, to the most benefit, and at the will and pleasure of the said Sir
Wal-

Walter Raleigh and his Company, and such other Person or Persons, as shall be Adventurers or Assistants With, or unto him in this his intended Voyage, and from thence to Return, Import, Convey, and bring into this Our Kingdom, or any other Our Dominions, such Gold, Silver, Bullion, or any other Wares, or Merchandizes, or Commodities Whatsoever, as they shall think most fit and convenient; and the same being so Returned, Imported, Conveyed, and Brought into this Our Kingdom, or any other Our Dominions, to have, take, keep, retain, and convert to the only proper Use, Benefit, and behoof of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and his said Company, and other Persons Adventurers

rers and Assistants With, or to
 him in his Voyage, Without
 the Let, Interruption, Mo-
 lestation, and Disturbance of
 Us, Our Heirs or Successors,
 or any the Officers, or Mini-
 sters of Us, Our Heirs or Suc-
 cessors Whatsoever; Paying and
 Answering unto Us, Our
 Heirs, and Successors, the full
 fifth part, in fife parts to be divi-
 ded, of all such Gold, and Silver,
 and Bullion, and Ore of Gold,
 or Silver, and Pearl, and pre-
 cious Stones, as shall be Im-
 ported over and besides; and
 together With such Customs,
 Subsidies, and other Duties,
 as shall be due for, or in respect
 of any other Goods, Wares,
 or Merchandizes Whatsoever to
 be so Imported by the true
 meaning of these Presents. And
 to

to the end the said Sir Walter Raleigh may be the more Encouraged to go forward in this his Enterprize, and all Our loving Subjects desirous to be Adventurers with him, or Assistant unto him, may be the more incited to further his Proceedings: We do hereby in verbo Regio, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, Covenant, Promise, and Grant, to and with the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and all other Persons that shall accompany him, or to be attendant upon him, or to be Adventurers or Assistants with, or to him in this his Voyage, that no Gold, Silver, Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes whatsoever, of what kind or sort soever, by him or them, or any of them to be Imported into this
Our

Sir Walter Raleigh. 193

Our Kingdom of England, or any other Our Dominions, from any the said South, or other parts of America, (Possessed or Inhabited, as aforesaid) Shall be attached, seized, or taken by Us, Our Heirs or Successors, or to the use of Us, Our Heirs or Successors, or by any the Officers or Ministers of Us, Our Heirs or Successors whatsoever; But that the same, and every of them (the fifth part of the said Gold, Silver, or Bullion, and Bar of Gold and Silver, and Pearl, and precious Stones, and other the Customs and Duties aforesaid, being truly answered and payed) Shall be, and remain to the sole and proper use and behoof of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and his said Company, and such Persons as Shall be Ad-
N ven-

venturers with him, or Assistant to him in this his Voyages; any Law, Statute, Act of Parliament, Proclamation, Provision, or Restraint, or any Right, Title, or Claim of Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, or any other matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And further, of Our more especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, We do hereby for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, ordain, constitute and appoint the said Sir Walter Raleigh to be the sole Governour and Commander of all Persons that shall travel, or be with him in the said Voyages, to the said South, or other parts of America, (so possessed and inhabited as aforesaid) or in returning from thence.

An

Sir Walter Raleigh. 195

And we do hereby give unto him full Power and Authority to Correct, Punish, Pardon, Govern, and Rule them, or any of them, according to such Orders, Ordinances, Constitutions, Directions, and Instructions, as by the said Sir Walter Raleigh shall be from time to time Established, aswel in cases Capital and Criminal, as Civil, both Marine and other; So always as the said Statutes, Ordinances, and Proceedings (as near as conveniently may be) be agreeable to the Laws, Statutes, Government and Policy of this Our Realm of England, and not against the true Christian Faith now professed in the Church of England. And because that in such and the like Enterprises and Voyages, great

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Inconveniencies have growen by the mutinous and disorderly carriage of the Mariners and Saylozs employed in the same, for want of sufficient Authority to punish them according to their Offences: We do therefore by these Presents for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, give full Power and Authority to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, in case of Rebellion or Mutiny by Sea or Land, to use and exercise Martial Law (upon just ground and apparent necessity) in as large and ample manner as our Lieutenant General by Sea or Land, or our Lieutenants in Our Counties, within Our Realm of England, have, had, or ought to have by force of their Commission of Lieutenantcy. And we do further by these Presents

Sir Walter Raleigh. 197

sents, give full Power and Authority to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, to Collect, Nominate and Appoint such Captains, and other inferiour Commanders and Ministers under him, as shall be requisite for the better ordering and governing of his Company, and the good of the Voyage. And further, We do by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, straightly Charge and Command the Warden of Our Cinque Ports, and all the Customers, Comptrollers, Surveyers, Searchers, Waiters, and other Officers and Ministers of Us, Our Heirs and Successors, for the time being, that they and every of them do quietly permit and suffer the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and all Person and Per-

N 3 sons

The Life of
sons that shall be Willing to
Travel and Adventure With
him in this Voyage With their
Ships, Munition, Goods,
Wares, and Merchandizes
Whatsoever out of this Our
Realm, or any other Our Do-
minions, to pass into the said
South or other parts of Ameri-
ca, (Possessed and Inhabited
as aforesaid,) and from thence
to return and import into this
Our Realm, or any other Our
Dominions, any Goods, Wares,
or Merchandizes Whatsoever,
and there to Sell, or otherwise
dispose of the same, to the best
benefit and advantage, and to
the only use and behoof of the
said Sir Walter Raleigh, and
his Company, and such other
Persons as shall be Adven-
turers With him in this Voy-
age ;

Sir Walter Raleigh. 199

age; paying the fifth part of all Gold, and Silber, and Bullion, and Ore of Gold, and Silber, and of Pearl, and precious Stones imported, and other the Customs and Duties aforesaid. And these Presents, or the Inrolment thereof, shall be unto the said Wardens of the Cinque Ports, Customers, Comptrollers, and other the Officers and Ministers aforesaid, for the time being, a sufficient Warrant and Discharge in that behalf. And Our Will and Pleasure is; And by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, We do grant unto the said Sir Walter Raleigh, That these Our Letters Patents, or the Inrolment thereof, and all and singular Grants,

N 4

Clau-

The Life of
 Clauses, and things therein
 contained, shall be firm, strong,
 sufficient, and effectual in Law,
 according to Our gracious
 Pleasure and Meaning herein
 expressed; Any Law, Statute,
 Act, Provision, Ordinance, or
 Restraint, or any other Matter
 or Thing to the contrary there-
 of in any wise notwithstanding.
 Although express mention, &c.
 In Witness Whereof, &c. Wit-
 ness Our Self at Westminster
 the six and twentieth Day of
 August, in the fourteenth Year
 of Our Reign of England,
 France, and Ireland, and of Scot-
 land the fiftieth.

Per breve de privato
 Sigillo.

With this Commission, and the Company of several brave Captains, and other Knights and Gentlemen of great Blood and Worth, he set out in Quest of the Mine, with a compleat Fleet of Twelvy Sail; letting fall a Speech at his Departure, which was rather an Argument of his Wit than his Wisdom, *That his whole History of the World had not the like President: Of a Kings Prisoner to purchase Freedom, and his bosome Favourite to have the Halter; but in Scripture, Mordecai and Haman: Meaning himself and the Duke of Sommerfet.* To which he was told, that the King replied, *He might die in that Deceit;* which he did, for Sommerfet was saved. Of whom was made good what Sir Walter used to say of Favourites; That Minions were not so happy as Vulgar Judgments thought them, being frequently commanded to uncomely, and sometimes to unnatural Employments.

On

On the 17th of November, he arrived at *Guiana*, having been much retarded by contrary Winds, and having lost several of his Voluntiers in the Voyage, by a violent *Calenture*. But of the whole Transactions, Sir *Walter* hath given us an exact Account, in his Letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Secretary; which I have here transcribed.

SIR,

AS I have not hitherto given you any Account of our Proceedings and Passages towards the Indies, so have I no other Subject to write of, than of the greatest Misfortunes that ever besel any Man. For whereas for the first, all those that navigate between *Cape de Verd*, and *America*, do pass between Fifteen or Twenty Days at most, we found the Wind so contrary, and (which are also contrary to Nature) so many Storms and Rains, as we

spent

bent six Weeks in the Passage ; by reason whereof, and that in so great Heat, we wanted Water. For at the Isle Prano of Cape de Verd, we lost our Anchors and Tables, and our Water-Casks ; and being driven from the Isle with a Hurricane, we were like all to have perished. Great sickness fell amongst us, and carried away great numbers of our ablest Men, both for Sea and Land. The 17th of November, we had sight of Guiana, and soon after came to Anchor in five Degrees of the River Gallinno ; here we staid till the fourth of December, landed our Sick-men, set up our Barges and Shallops, which were brought out of England in Quarters, washed our Ships, and took in Fresh-water, being fed and cherished by the Indians of my old Acquaintance, with a great deal of Love and Respect. My self being in the hands of Death this six Weeks, and not able otherwise to move, than as I was carried in a Chair, gave order to five small Ships to sail into Orinoque, having
Cap-

Captain Kemish for their Conductor toward the Mines: And in those five Ships, five Companies of fifty, under the Command of Captain Parker, Captain North, Brethren to the Lord Monteagle, and the Lord North, valiant Gentlemen, and of infinite Patience, for the Labour, Hunger, and Heat, which they have endured: My Son had the third Company; Capt. Thornix of Kent the fourth Company; Capt. Chidley, by his Lieutenant, the fifth. But as my Serjeant Major, Capt. Piggot, died in the former miserable Passage; so my Lieutenant, Sir Warham Saint Leiger, lay sick without hope of Life, and the Charge conferred on my Nephew, George Raleigh, who had also served long with infinite Commendations; but by reason of my absence, and of Sir Warham's, was not so well obeyed as the Enterprize required. As they passed up the River, the Spaniards began the War, and shot at us, both with their Ordnance and Muskets; whereupon the Companies were forced to charge them

Sir Walter Raleigh. 205

hem, and soon after beat them out of the Town. In the Assault my Son (more desirous of Honour than Safety) was slain; with whom, to say truth, all the respects of this World have taken end in me; and although these five Captains had as weak Companies as ever followed valiant Leaders, yet were there among them some twenty or thirty valiant adventurous Gentlemen, and of singular Courage; as of my Sons Company, Mr. Knivet, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Langworth, Mr. John Pleasington; his Officers, Sir John Hambden, Mr. Simon Leak, Corporal of the Field, Mr. Hammond, the elder Brother, Mr. Nicholas of Buckingham, Mr. Roberts of Kent, Mr. Perin, Mr. Tresham, Mr. Mollinax, Mr. Winter, and his Brother, Mr. Wray, Mr. Miles Herbert, Mr. Bradshaw, Captain Hall, and others.

Sir, I have set down the Names of these Gentlemen, to the end that if his Majesty shall have cause to use their Service, it may
please

please you to take notice of them for very sufficient Gentlemen. The other five Ships staid at Trinidad, having no other Port capable of them near Guiana. The second Ship was commanded by my Vice-Admiral Capt. John Pennington, of whom (to do him right) he is one of the sufficientest Gentlemen for the Sea that England hath. The third by Sir Warham Saint-Legier, an exceeding valiant and worthy Gentleman. The fourth by Sir John Fern. The fifth by Capt. Chidley of Devon. With these five Ships I daily attended their Armada of Spain, which had they set upon us, our Force divided, the one half in Orinoque 150 miles from us, we had not only been torn in pieces, but all those in the River had also perished, being of no force at all for Sea-fight. But we had resolved to be burnt by their sides, had the Armada arrived: But belike they staid for us at Margaret, by which they knew we must pass to the Indies. For it pleased his Majesty to value us at so little, as to command
me

Sir Walter Raleigh. 207

me upon my Allegiance, to set down under my hand the Country, and River by which I was to enter it; to set down the Number of my Men, and Burthen of my Ships, and what Ordnance every Ship carried: which being known to the Spanish Ambassador, and by him unto the King of Spain, a dispatch was made, and Letters sent from Madrid, before my departure out of the Thames. For his first Letter, sent by a Barque of Advice, was dated the 19th of March, 1617. at Madrid, which Letter I have here inclosed sent to your Honour; the rest I reserve, not knowing whether they may be intercepted or not. The second by the King, dated the second of May, sent also by a Colonel of Diego de Polonioque, Governour of Guiana, Elderedo, and Trinidado. The third by the Bishop of Perericho, and delivered to Polonioque, the 15th of July at Trinidado. And the fourth was sent from the Farmer and Secretary of his Customs in the Indies. At the same time by that of the Kings
Hand

Hand sent by the Bishop, there was also a Commission for the speedy Levying of 300 Souldiers; and ten Pieces of Ordnance, to be sent from Portriche, for the Defence of Guiana. One 150 from Nueno Remo de Grando, under the Command of Captain Anthony Musica; and the other 150 from Portricho, to be conducted by Captain Francis Landio.

Now Sir, if all that have traded to the Indies since his Majesties time, knew that the Spaniards have flayed alive all the poor Men which they have taken, being but Merchant Men, what Death and cruel Torment shall we expect, if they conquer us? Certainly, they have hitherto failed grossly, being set out thence as we were, both for Number, Time, and Place.

Lastly, To make an Apology for not working the Mine (though I know his Majesty expected it, whom I am to satisfy as much as my self) having lost my Son and my Estate in the Enterprize; yet it is true, that
the

the Spaniards took more care to defend the Passage leading unto it, than they did the Town, which by the King's Instructions they might easily do, the Countries being Aspera & Nemorosa.

But it is true, that when Capt. Kemish found the River low, and that he could not approach the Banks in most places near the Mine by a mile, and where he found a descent, a volley of Musquet shot came from the Woods upon the Boat, and slew two Rowers, hurt six others, and shot a valiant Gentleman of Capt. Thornix, of which Wound he languisheth to this day. He, to wit, Capt. Kemish, following his own Advice, thought it was in vain to discover the Mine; and he gave me this for an Excuse at his return, That the Companies of English in the Town of St. Thoma were not able to defend it against the daily and nightly Assaults of the Spaniards; That the Passages to the Mines were thick and unpassable Woods; and that the Mine being discovered, they had no Men to

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work

work it, did not discover it at all. For it is true, the Spaniards having two Gold Mines near the Town, the one possessed by Pedro Rodrigo de Paran, the second by Harmian Frotinio, the third of Silver by Capt. Francisco, are useleß for want of Negroes to work them: For as the Indians cannot be constrained, by a Law of Charles the 5th, so the Spaniards will not, nor can endure the labour of those Mines, whatsoever the Bragadocio the Spanish Ambassador saith. I shall prove under the Proprietors hands, by the Custom-Book, and the King's Quinto, of which I recovered an Ingot or two: I shall also make it appear to any Prince, or State, that will undertake it, how easily those Mines, and five or six more of them, may be possessed, and the most of them in those Parts, which have never as yet been attempted by any, nor by any Passage to them, nor ever discovered by the English, French, or Dutch. But at Kemish's return from Orinoque, when I rejected his counsel and his course, and

told

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told him he had undone me, and wounded my Credit with the King past recovery, he slew himself: For I told him, seeing my Son was slain, I cared not if I had lost 100 more in opening the Mine, so my Credit had been saved. For I protest before God, had not Captain Whitney (to whom I gave more countenance than to all the Captains of my Fleet) run from me at the Granadoes, and carried another Ship with him of Captain Woolastons, I would have left my Body at St. Thome, by my Sons, or have brought with me out of that or other Mines, so much Gold Oar as should have satisfied the King. I propounded no vain thing, what shall become of me I know not. I am unpardoned in England, and my poor Estate consumed, and whether any Prince will give me Bread or no, I know not. I would desire your Honour to hold me in your good Opinion, to remember my Service to my Lord of Arundel and Pembroke, to take some pity on my poor Wife, to whom I dare not write for renew-

ing her sorrow for her Son. And I beseech you to give a Copy of this to my Lord Carew; for to a broken Mind, a sick Body, and weak Eyes, it is a torment to write many Letters. I have found many things of Importance for discovering the State and Weakness of the Indies, which if I live I shall hereafter impart unto your Honour, to whom I shall remain a faithful Servant.

WALTER RALEIGH.

Whilst this Action of St. Thome was performed, and the Repulse in the way to the Mine, Sir Walter staid at St. Point de Gallo the space of nine weeks, where the unwelcome news was brought him of the loss of his Son, and the Defeat they met with in their Design upon the Mine. However this ill News could not alter the Resolutions of Sir Walter, of Returning to England, though he knew he should meet with several Enemies there, who had by their Calum-

nies

nies rendred the Voyage nothing but a Design; and though several of his Men were for landing at *New-found-Land*. For if we may believe himself at the hour of his Death, the two Noble Earls, *Thomas of Arundel*, and *William of Pembroke*, engaged him to return; and Sir *Walter* was resolv'd, tho' inevitable Danger threatned him, to keep his Promise.

No sooner had they arrived upon the Coasts of *Ireland*, but the Taking and Sacking of *St. Thome*, firing of the Town, and putting the *Spaniards* there to the Sword (though in their own defence) was noised abroad in all parts, and was by special Advertisment come unto the knowledg of Count *de Gondamor*: Who thereupon desiring Audience of his Majesty, said he had but one word to say: His Majesty much wondering what might be delivered in one word; when he came before him, he

only bawl'd out, *Pirates, Pirates, Pirates*. A very pretty short Speech for an Ambassador. Whereupon his Majesty published his Royal Proclamation, for the discovery of the Truth of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Proceedings, and the Advancement of Justice. But after all this Noise, Sir *Walter* is not question'd for his *Guiana* Action. For it is believed, not without very good Ground, that neither the transgression of his Commission, nor any thing acted beyond the Line, where the Articles of Peace between the two Crowns did not extend, could have in a legal course of Tryal shortned his days.

When Sir *Walter* was arrived at *Plymouth*, Sir *Lewis Steukly*, Vice-Admiral of the County of *Devon*, seiz'd him, being Commissioned by his Majesty to bring him to *London*; which could add no Terror to a Person who could expect nothing less; and was now forc'd to

make

make use of all the Arts imaginable to appease his Majesty, and defer his Anger. To which intent, *Manowry*, a French Quack at *Salisbury*, gave him several Vomits, and an Artificial Composition, which made him look gasty and dreadful, full of Pimples and Blisters, and put the Cheat upon the very Physicians themselves, who could not tell what to make of his Urine (tho often inspected) being adulterated with a Drug in the Glass, that turn'd, it even in their very hands, into an earthy humour of a blackish colour, and of a very offensive savour.

While he lay under this Politick disguise, he penn'd his *Declaration* and *Apologie*, which have sufficiently proved his honourable Designs in that Voyage, and answered the little Calumnies of his Enemies. When he was brought to *London*, he was permitted the Confinement of his own House: But find-

ing the Court wholly guided by *Gondamor*, he could hope for little Mercy ; therefore he wisely contriv'd the design of an Escape into *France*, which Sir *Lewis Steuckley* betrayed. But the fate of Traytors pursued him, and brought him to a Contemptible End, to dye a poor distracted Beggar in the Isle of *Lindley*, having for a Bag of Money falsified his Faith, confirmed by the tye of the holy Sacrament, (if we may give credit to Mr *Howel*, who hath given us this Story ;) as also before the Year came about, to be found clipping the same very Coyn in the King's own House at *White-Hall*, which he had received for a Reward of his Perfideousness : for which, being condemn'd to be hang'd, he was forc'd to sell himself to his Shirt, to purchase his Pardon of two Knights.

King *James* was willing to sacrifice the Life of Sir *Walter* to the Advancement

Sir Walter Raleigh. 217

ment of Peace with *Spain*, but not upon such Grounds as the Ambassadour had design'd : for he desir'd a Judgment upon the pretended Breach of Peace, that by this Occasion he might slyly gain from the *English* an Acknowledgment of his Master's Right in those Places, and hereafter both stop their Mouthes, and quench their Heat and Valour. Hence upon his old Condemnation (for having had experience upon a former Tryal, they cared not to run the hazard of a second) he was sentenced : The old Judgment being only Averred against him ; and from *Westminster-Hall* he was carried to the *Gate-House* ; and from thence the next Morning to the Parliament-Yard, where he had the Favour of the Ax granted him. But all Persons have wondred how that old Sentence, that had lain dormant sixteen Years and upwards against Sir *Walter*, could have been

been made use of to take off his Head afterwards : Considering the then Lord Chancellor *Verulam* told him positively, (as Sir *Walter* was acquainting him with that Proffer of Sir *William St. Geon* for a Pecuniary Pardon, which might have been obtained for a less Sum, than his *Guiana* Preparations amounted to) in these words: ‘ Sir, the Knee Timber
‘ of your Voyage is Money ; spare your
‘ Purse in this particular, for upon my
‘ Life you have a sufficient Pardon for
‘ all that is passed already, the King
‘ having under his Broad Seal made
‘ you Admiral of your Fleet, and gi-
‘ ven you Power of the Martial Law
‘ over the Officers and Souldiers. It
was the Opinion of most Lawyers,
that he, who by his Majesties Patent,
had power of Life and Death over the
Kings Leige People, should be e-
steemed or judged *Rectus in Curia*, and
free from all old Convictions. But
Sir

Sir Walter Raleigh. 219

Sir Walter hath made the best Defence for his *Guiana* Actions, in his Letter to his Majesty, which I have here inserted.

May it please your most excellent Majesty.

IF in my Journey outward bound,
I had my Men murdered at the
Island, and yet spared to take Revenge.
If I did discharge some *Spanish* Barques
taken, without spoil. If I did forbear
all parts of the *Spanish Indies*, where-
in I might have taken twenty of their
Towns on the Sea Coasts, and did on-
ly follow the Enterprize I undertook
for *Guiana*, where without any Di-
rections from me a *Spanish* Village
was burnt, which was new set up
within three miles of the Mine; by
your Majesties favour, I find no Rea-
son why the *Spanish* Ambassador
should complain of me. If it were
lawful for the *Spaniards* to murder 26

English-

‘*Englishmen*, binding them back to back,
‘and then cutting their Throats, when
‘they had traded with them a whole
‘Month, and came to them on the
‘Land without so much as one Sword;
‘and that it may not be lawful for your
‘Majesties Subjects, being charged first
‘by them, to repel Force by Force; we
‘may justly say, O miserable *English*!
‘If *Parker* and *Metham* took *Campeach*
‘and other Places in the *Honduraes*, seat-
‘ed in the Heart of the *Spanish Indies*,
‘burnt Towns, killed the *Spaniards*,
‘and had nothing said to them at their
‘Return, and my self forbore to look
‘into the *Indies* because I would not of-
‘fend; I may justly say, O miserable
‘Sir *Walter Raleigh*! If I spent my poor
‘Estate, lost my Son, suffered by Sick-
‘ness, and otherwise a world of Mise-
‘ries; if I have resisted with the mani-
‘fest hazard of my Life, the Robbe-
‘ries and Spoils which my Company
would

‘ would have made ; if when I was
‘ Poor, I might have made my self
‘ Rich ; if when I had gotten my Li-
‘ berty, which all Men, and Nature it
‘ self do so much prize, I voluntarily lost
‘ it ; if when I was sure of my Life, I
‘ rendred it again ; if I might elsewhere
‘ have sold my Ship and Goods, and
‘ put 5 or 6000 Pound in my Pocket,
‘ and yet have brought her into *England*.
‘ I beseech your Majesty to believe,
‘ that all this I have done, because it
‘ should not be said to your Majesty,
‘ that your Majesty had given Liberty
‘ and Trust to a Man whose End was
‘ but the Recovery of his Liberty, and
‘ who had betrayed your Majesties
‘ Trust. My Mutineers told me that if
‘ I returned for *England*, I should be un-
‘ done ; but I believed in your Maje-
‘ sties Goodness more than in all their
‘ Arguments. Sure I am, that I am the
‘ first that being free, and able to en-
rich

'rich my self, have imbraced Poverty
 'and Peril: And as sure I am, that my
 'Example shall make me the last. But
 'your Majesties Wisdom and Good-
 'ness I have made my Judges, who
 'have ever been, and shall ever be,

Your Majesties most humble Vassal,

WALTER RALEIGH.

But this Apology, though never so
 perswasive, could not satisfy *Gonda-*
mor's Rage, who was resolv'd to sacri-
 fice the only Favourite left of *Queen*
Elizabeth, to the *Spanish* Interest: And
 who, as *Osburn* remarks, was the only
 Person of *Effex's* Enemies that died la-
 mented; and the only Man of Note
 left alive, that had help'd to beat the
Spaniard in the Year 1588.

Upon Thursday the 29th of *Octob.*
 1618. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was conveyed
 by

by the Sheriffs of *London* to a Scaffold in the Old Palace at *Westminster*, where he was executed about nine of the Clock in the Morning of the same Day, Whose Confession and several Speeches there delivered, with his Gesture and Behaviour, were as follows.

His first appearance upon the Scaffold, was with a smiling Countenance saluting the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, with others of his Acquaintance there present; when after a Proclamation of Silence by an Officer appointed, he addressed himself to speak in this manner.

I desire to be born withal, because this is the third Day of my Feaver: And if I shew any weakness, I beseech you attribute it to my Malady, for this is the hour I look for it.

Then pawling a while, directing himself towards a Window, where the Lord of *Arundel*, and the Lord of *Doncaster*, with some other Lords and Knights

Knights fate, with a loud Voice he said
as followeth :

‘ I thank God of his infinite Good-
‘ ness that he hath sent me to dye in
‘ the sight of so Honourable an Assem-
‘ bly, and not in Darknes. But by rea-
son the place where they sat was some
distance from the Scaffold, that they
could not easily hear him, he said, *I will*
strain my self, for I would willingly have
your Honours hear me. The L. of Arundel
answered, *We will come upon the Scaffold;*
where after he had saluted every one
of them severally, he began as follows :

‘ As I said, I thank my God heartily
‘ that he hath brought me into the light
‘ to dye, and not suffered me to dye in
‘ the dark Prison of the *Tower*, where I
‘ have suffered a great deal of Adver-
‘ sity, and a long Sicknes; and I thank
‘ God that my Feaver hath not taken
‘ me at this time, as I prayed God it
‘ might not.

There

Sir **Walter Raleigh.** 225

‘ There are two main Points of Suspicion that his Majesty hath conceived against me, wherein his Majesty cannot be satisfied, which I desire to clear and resolve you in :

‘ One is, That his Majesty hath been informed that I have had some Plot with *France*, and his Majesty had some Reason to induce him thereunto. One Reason that his Majesty had to conjecture so, was, that when I came back from *Guiana*, being come to *Plymouth*, I endeavoured to go to *Rochel* ; which was because I would fain have made my Peace before I came to *England*. Another Reason was, that upon my Flight I did intend to fly to *France* for saving of my Life, having had some terror from above. A third Reason was, the *French* Agent’s coming to me ; and it was reported I had Commission from the King of *France*.

‘ But this I say, for a Man to call
P God

‘ God to witness to a Falshood at any
‘ time is a grievous sin, and what shall
‘ he hope for at the Tribunal Day of
‘ Judgment ? But to call God to wit-
‘ ness to a falshood at the time of death,
‘ is far more grievous and impious, and
‘ there is no hope for such an one. And
‘ what should I expect that am now go-
‘ ing to render an Account of my Faith?
‘ I do therefore call the Lord to witness,
‘ as I hope to be saved, and as I hope to
‘ see him in his Kingdom, which will
‘ be within this quarter of this hour, I
‘ never had any Commission from the
‘ King of *France*, nor any Treaty with
‘ the *French* Agent, nor with any from
‘ the *French* King ; neither knew I that
‘ there was an Agent, or what he was,
‘ till I met him in my Gallery at my
‘ Lodging unlook’d for. If I speak not
‘ true, O Lord, let me never come into
‘ thy Kingdom.

‘ The second Suspicion was, That his
‘ Ma-

‘ Majesty hath been informed, that I
 ‘ should speak dishonourably and dis-
 ‘ loyally of him. But my Accuser was
 ‘ a base *Frenchman*, a kind of a Chymical
 ‘ Fellow, one whom I knew to be Per-
 ‘ fidious ; for being drawn into this
 ‘ Action at *Winchester*, in which my
 ‘ Hand was toucht, and he being sworn
 ‘ to secrecy over Night, reveal’d it in
 ‘ the Morning.

‘ But in this I speak now, What have
 ‘ have I to do with Kings? I have no-
 ‘ thing to do with them, neither do I
 ‘ fear them : I have now to do with God,
 ‘ therefore to tell a Lye now to get the
 ‘ Favour of the King were in vain.
 ‘ Therefore, as I hope to be saved at the
 ‘ last Day, I never spake dishonourably,
 ‘ disloyally, nor dishonestly of the King;
 ‘ neither to this *Frenchman*, nor to any
 ‘ other ; neither had I ever in all my
 ‘ Life a thought of ill of his Majesty.
 ‘ Therefore I cannot but think it
 P 2 ‘ strange

' strange, that this *Frenchman* being so
 ' base, so mean a Fellow, should be so
 ' far credited; and so much for this
 ' Point. I have dealt truly, and I hope I
 ' shall be believed. I confess, I did at-
 ' tempt to escape, and I did dissemble
 ' and fain my self sick at *Salisbury*, but I
 ' hope it was no sin. The Prophet *Da-*
 ' *vid* did make himself a Fool, and did
 ' suffer Spittle to fall upon his Beard,
 ' to escape the hands of his Enemies,
 ' and it was not imputed to him as
 ' sin; and I did it to prolong Time till
 ' his Majesty came, hoping for some
 ' Commiseration from him.

' I forgive this *Frenchman*, and Sir
 ' *Lewis Steuckly*, and have received the
 ' Sacrament this Morning of Mr. Dean,
 ' and I do also forgive all the World.
 ' But thus much I am bound in Charity
 ' to speak of this Man, that all Men may
 ' take good heed of him: Sir *Lewis*
 ' *Steuckley*, my Kinsman and Keeper,
 ' hath

‘hath affirmed that I should tell him,
 ‘that I did tell my Lord *Carew*, and my
 ‘Lord *Doncaster* of my present Escape;
 ‘but I protest before God, I never told
 ‘*Steuckly* any such thing, neither did I
 ‘tell my Lord *Carew*, or my Lord
 ‘*Doncaster*, of my pretended Escape.
 ‘It was not likely that I should ac-
 ‘quaint two Privy--Counsellors of
 ‘my purpose; neither would I tell
 ‘him, for he left me six, seven, eight,
 ‘nine or ten days to go where I listed,
 ‘while he rode about the Country.

‘Again, he accused me, that I should
 ‘tell him, that my Lord *Carew*, and my
 ‘Lord *Doncaster* would meet me in
 ‘*France*: which was never my speech
 ‘or thought.

‘Thirdly, He accused me, That I
 ‘shew’d him a Letter, and that I should
 ‘give him 10000 *l.* for my Escape:
 ‘but cast my Soul into everlasting fire
 ‘if ever I made him offer of 10000 *l.*

' or 1000 *l.* but meerly I shew'd him
 ' a Letter, that if he would go with me,
 ' his Debts should be paid when he was
 ' gone; neither had I 1000 *l.* for if I
 ' had had so much, I could have done
 ' better with it, and made my Peace
 ' otherwise.

' Fourthly; When I came to Sir *Ed-*
 ' ward Pelham, who had been sometimes
 ' a follower of mine, who gave me
 ' good Entertainment; he gave out
 ' that I had receiv'd some dram of Poy-
 ' son in Sir *Edward Pelham's* House:
 ' when I answered, that I feared no
 ' such thing; for I was well assured of
 ' them in the House. Now God for-
 ' give him, for I do, and desire God to
 ' forgive him; I will not only say God
 ' is the God of Revenge, but I desire
 ' God to forgive him, as I hope to be
 ' forgiven.

Then he looked over his Note of
 Remembrance; ' Well (saith he) thus
 far

‘ far I have gone ; now a little more,
‘ and I will have done by and by.

‘ It was told the King I was brought
‘ per force into *England*, and that I did
‘ not intend to come again : Whereas
‘ Captain *Charles Parker*, Mr. *Tresham*,
‘ Mr. *Leak*, and divers others that knew
‘ how I was dealt withal, shall witneſs
‘ for me : for the Common Souldiers
‘ (which were 150) mutined, and ſent
‘ for me to come into the Gun-Room
‘ to them, (for at that time they would
‘ not come to me) and there was I
‘ forc’d to take an Oath, that I would
‘ not come into *England* till they would
‘ have me, elſe they would caſt me into
‘ the Sea and drown me ; afterwards
‘ they entred my Cabin and ſet them-
‘ ſelves againſt me. After I had taken
‘ this Oath, with Wine and other things
‘ I drew the chiefſt of them to deſert,
‘ and at length perſwaded them to go
‘ into *Ireland* : Then would they have

' gone into the North parts of *Ireland*,
 ' but I told them they were *Redshanks* :
 ' yet at last with much ado I periwaded
 ' them to go into the South parts ; pro-
 ' mising to get their Pardons : but was
 ' forc'd to give them 125 l. at *Kinsale*
 ' to bring them home, otherwise I had
 ' never got from them.

' There was a Report that I meant
 ' not to go to *Guiana* at all ; and that I
 ' knew not of any Mine, nor intended
 ' any such matter, but only to get my
 ' Liberty, which I had not the wit to
 ' keep. But it was my full intent to
 ' go for Gold, for the benefit of his
 ' Majesty, and those that went with
 ' me, with the rest of my Country-
 ' men : But he that knew the Head of
 ' the Mine, would not discover it when
 ' he saw my Son was slain, but made
 ' himself away. Then he turned to
 ' my Lord of *Arundel* and said, Being
 ' in the Gallery in my Ship at my De-
 parture

parture, Your Honour took me by the hand, and said you would request me one thing, that was, *That whether I made a good Voyage or bad, yet I should return again into England; when I made you a Promise, and gave you my Faith that I would: And so you did* (answered my Lord) *it is true, they were the last words I spake unto you.*

Another Opinion was, that I carried to Sea with me 1600 Pieces, and that was all the Voyage I intended, only to get Money into my Hands, and that I had weighed my Voyage before: whereas I protest I had but 100 Pound in all the World, whereof I gave 25 Pounds to my Wife: the Reason of this Speech was this; there was entered 20000 Pound, and yet but 4000 Pound in the Surveyors Book; now I gave my Bill for the other 16000 Pound for divers Adventurers, but I protest I had not a Penny of Money

'Money more than 100 Pound, as I
'hope to be saved.

‘ Another Slander was raised, that
‘ I would have gone away from them
‘ and left them at *Guiana*, but there were
‘ a great many of worthy Men that ac-
‘ companied me always, as my Serjeant
‘ Major *George Raleigh*, and divers others
‘ (which he then named) that knew my
‘ Intent was nothing so. And these be
‘ the Material Points I thought good to
‘ speak of; I am now at this instant to
‘ render my Account to God, and I pro-
‘ test as I shall appear before Him,
‘ this that I have spoken is true.

‘I will speak but a word or two more, because I will not trouble Mr. Sheriff too long.’

‘ There was a Report Spread, that I
‘ should rejoyce at the Death of my
‘ Lord of *Essex*, and that I should take
‘ Tobacco in his presence ; when as
‘ protest I shed Tears at his Death,
‘ though

though I was one of the contrary
 Faction; and at the time of his Death
 I was all the while in the Armory at
 the further end, where I could but see
 him; I was sorry that I was not with
 him, for I heard he had a desire to see
 me, and be reconciled to me. So
 that I protest I lamented his Death,
 and good cause had I, for it was the
 worse for me as it proved, for after
 he was gone I was little beloved.

And now I intreat you all to joyn
 with me in Prayer, that the great
 God of Heaven, whom I have grie-
 vously offended, being a Man full of
 all Vanity, and have lived a sinful
 Life, in all sinful Callings, having
 been a Souldier, a Captain, a Sea-
 Captain, and a Courtier, which are
 all places of Wickedness and Vice;
 that God (I say) would forgive me,
 and cast away my Sins from me, and
 that he would receive me into ever-
 lasting

‘lasting Life. So I take my leave of
‘you all, making my Peace with God.

Then Proclamation being made that
all Men should depart the Scaffold, he
prepared himself for Death, giving
away his Hat and wrought Night-Cap,
and some Money to such as he knew
that stood near him: Taking his leave
of the Lords, Knights, and other Gen-
tlemen, and among the rest taking his
leave of the Lord of *Arundel*, he thank-
ed him for his Company, and intreat-
ed him to desire the King, that no
scandalous Writing to defame him
might be published after his Death;
saying further unto him, *I have a long
Journey to go, and therefore will take my
leave.*

Then putting off his Gown and
Doublet, he called to the Headsman to
shew him the Ax, which being not
presently shewed him, he said, *I pray
thee let me see it, Dost thou think that I am
afraid.*

afraid of it? And having it in his hands, he felt along upon the Edge of it, and smiling spake to the Sheriff, saying, *This is a sharp Medicine, but it is a Physician for all Diseases.* Then going to and fro upon the Scaffold, on every side he prayed the Company to pray to God to assist him and strengthen him.

And so being asked which way he would lay himself, on which side the Block, as he stretched himself along and laid his Head on the Block, he said, *So the Heart be right, it is no matter which way the Head lieth.* And then praying, after he had forgiven the Headsman, having given him a Sign when he should do his Office, at two blows he lost both Head and Life, his Body never shrinking nor moving. His Head was shewed on each side of the Scaffold, and then put into a Red-Leather Bag, and his wrought Velvet Gown

Gown thrown over it, vvhich was afterwards conveyed away in a Mourning Coach of his Ladies.

The large effusion of Blood which proceeded from his Veins, amaz'd the Spectators, vvho conjectur'd he had stock enough left of Nature to have survived many years, thô now near fourscore years old.

He behav'd himself at his Death vvith so High and so Religious a Resolution, as if a *Christian* had acted a *Roman*, or rather a *Roman a Christian*: And by the Magnanimity vvhich vvas then conspicuous in him, he abundantly baffled their Calumnies who had accus'd him of Atheism.

Various were the Resentments of his Death, and several *Pasquils* (as it always happens on such Occasions) were scatter'd abroad.

Of the Gallantry of his Behaviour on the Scaffold, these following Verses

ses may give a Confirmation, and a Taste of the Poetry of those Times.

Upon Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Execution
and Death.

Great Heart ! who taught thee so to die ?
Death yielding thee the Victory.
Where took'st thou leave of Life ? If here,
How could'st thou be so far from Fear ?
But sure thou dyed'st, and quid'st the state
Of Flesh and Blood, before that Fate.
Else what a Miracle were wrought
To triumph both in Flesh and Thought.
I saw in every Stander by
Pale Death, Life only in thy Eye.
Farewel ; Truth shall this Story say,
We dy'd, Thou only livd'st that Day.

Or if the Reader pleases, he may take this following *Elegy*, composed on the same Subject, by a Sacred Wit of those times.

An

AN ELEGY on Sir W. R.

*I will not weep: for 'twere as great a sin
To shed a Tear for Thee, as to have bin
An Actor in thy Death. Thy Life and Age
Was but a various Scene on Fortunes Stage;
With whom Thou tugg'st and strov'st, ev'n
out of breath,*

*In thy long Toyl, ne're master'd till thy Death;
And then, despight of Trains, and cruel Wit,
Thou didst at once subdue Malice, and it.
I dare not then so blast thy Memorie,
As t' say I do lament or pity Thee.*

*Were I to choose a Subject to bestow
My Pity on, he should be one as low
In Spirit as Desert: That durst not dye,
But rather were content by Slavery
To purchase Life: Or would I pity those
Thy most industrious and friendly Foes,
Who when they thought to make Thee Scand-
als story,
Lent Thee a swifter Flight to Heav'n and
Glory.*

They

Sir Walter Raleigh. 241

They thought by cutting off some wither'd
Days,

(Which thou could'st spare them) to eclipse
thy Praise;

Yet gave it brighter Foil, made thy ag'd Fame
Appear more white and fair, than foul their
Shame;

And did promote an Execution,
Which, but for them, Nature and Age had
done.

Such worthless Things as these are only born
To live on Pities Alms, (too mean for Scorn.)
Thou dy'dst an env'ous Wonder, whose high
Fate

The World must still admire, scarce imitate.

Thus died that Knight vvho vvvas
Spains Scourge and Terror, and Gonda-
mor's Triumph; vvhom the vvhole
Nation pitied, and several Princes in-
terceded for; Queen Elizabeths Fa-
vourite, and her Successors Sacrifice.
A Person of so much Worth and so

Q

great

great Interest, that King *James* vvould not execute him vvithout an Apology. One of such incomparable Policy, that he was too hard for *Essex*, was the Envy of *Leicester*, and *Cecil's* Rival; vvho grew jealous of his Excellent Parts, and was afraid of being supplanted by him. His Head was wisht on the Secretaries shoulders, and his Life valued by some at a higher rate than the *Infanta* of *Spain*, though a Lady incomparably excelling in both the Gifts of Mind and Body.

Authors are perplext under what Topick to place him, whether of Statesman, Seaman, Souldier, Chymist, or Chronologer; for in all these he did excel. He could make every thing he read or heard his own, and his own he could easily improve to the greatest Advantage. He seem'd to be born to that only vvhich he went about, so Dexterous vvvas he in all his Undertakings,

Sir Walter Raleigh. 243

kings, in Court, Camp, by Sea, by Land, vvith Sword, vvith Pen. Wit-
ness in the last, his

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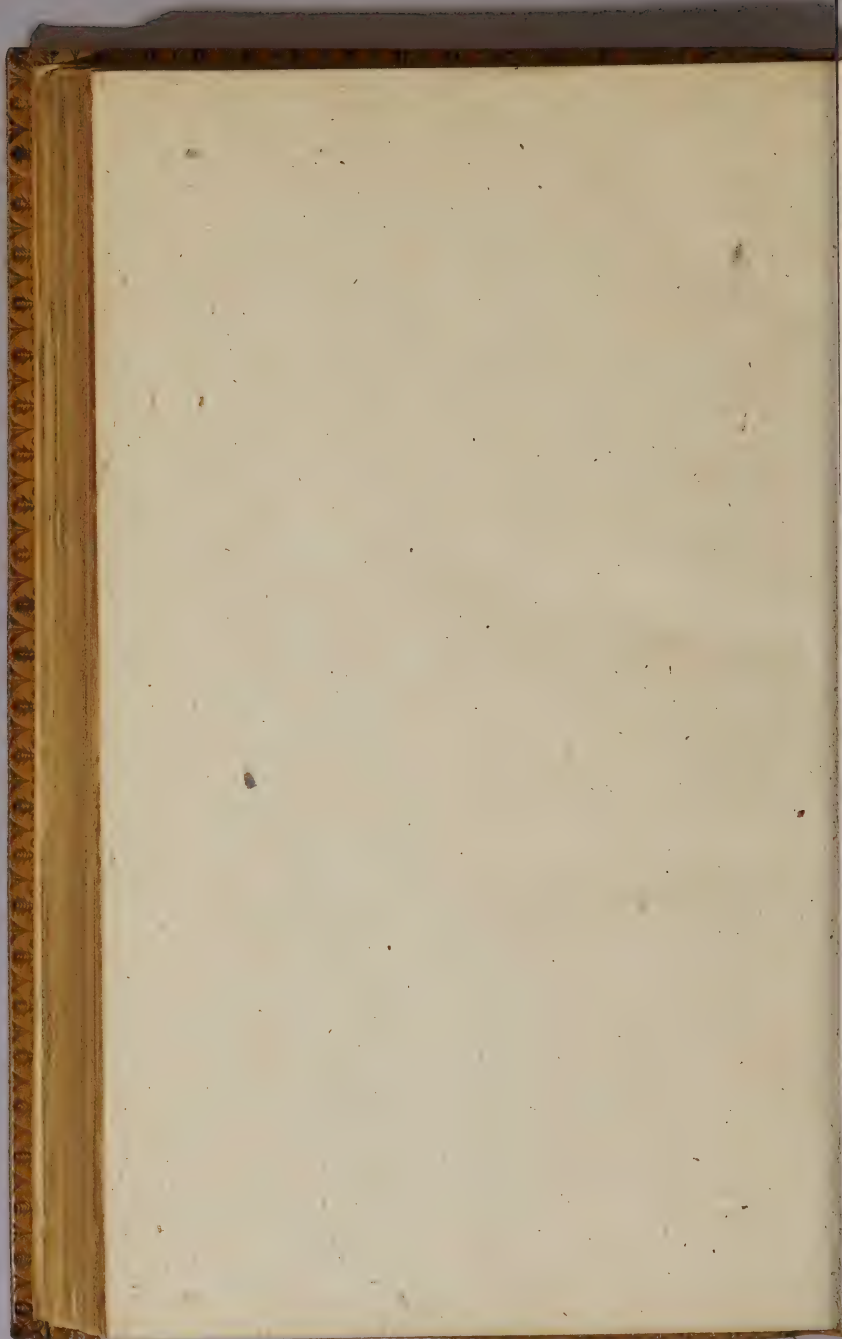
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